

PEACE NEWS

No. 130.

LONDON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1938.

2d.

Sir John Anderson's Plan

Readers' Views on Page 4

NATIONAL REGISTER

P.P.U. Sponsors Advise:

"Have Nothing to Do With It!"

WHILE Sir John Anderson, Lord Privy Seal, was announcing his National Service scheme to the House of Commons, the Board of Sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union were in conference.

Mr. George Lansbury telephoned to them a summary of the Government's proposals.

After some discussion the Sponsors decided to advise members of the Peace Pledge Union to have nothing whatever to do with the proposed national register, particularly as no one is under any obligation to do so.

Meanwhile, the Sponsors are to consider the desirability or otherwise of making some positive reply in the form of an alternative scheme.

Drive to Make Us A Nation of Conscripts

What Is Behind the "Voluntary Service" Smokescreen

by GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY was present in the House of Commons when Sir John Anderson, Lord Privy Seal, made his statement on National Service.

He gives here his summing-up of the proposals.



George Lansbury, M.P.

"Much As I Expected,"

Comments Lord Ponsonby

Questions and Answers on the Scheme

IN an interview with a representative of "Peace News," Lord Ponsonby made the following comments on the National Service scheme:—

Q. What is your general impression of Sir John Anderson's Voluntary Registration scheme?

P. It is very much what I expected.

Q. But it is not compulsory.

P. I never thought it would be.

Q. Why not?

P. Compulsion would have aroused considerable protest in many quarters. The word "Voluntary" sounds so inoffensive that the sugar quite successfully conceals the pill.

Q. By the pill you mean military and industrial conscription?

P. Yes. When Anderson said that a compulsory Register is not at present necessary some of the die-hards protested. But when later he explained that a complete national register might have to be compiled under compulsory powers, they were satisfied. We can see therefore that the voluntary register will do nine-tenths of the work, so that when compulsion comes along there will be very little more to be done. In fact he said so.

Q. Will you explain more fully what you mean by that?

P. The national service organization is to be partly delegated to local committees composed of the same sort of busy "patriotic" jacks-in-office, who went round recently offering gas masks and trying to arrange for the billeting of refugees from London and the large cities, will easily fill up

(Continued on back page)

THESE notes are being written before the House of Commons debate on the Lord Privy Seal's scheme for ensuring just what we each must "volunteer" to do so that our brains and muscle will be able efficiently to serve the nation.

This scheme is very like the Derby Recruiting Scheme, except that it is much wider in its scope. The Derby Scheme was a last desperate effort to secure volunteers made by the Government during the early stages of the Great War. This scheme failed and conscription took its place.

Now, in peacetime, a scheme is to be set on foot which, if successful, will register all people between certain ages and at the same time determine which industries men and women may continue to work in, and from which industries men and women may be released for other service.

These proposals are to be aided by committees who will be so expert as to be able to give "guidance" to any person in doubt as to which occupation he should follow.

I do not think this is an unfair statement, so far as it goes, of Sir John Anderson's scheme.

Danger to Unemployed

ON paper, or even when spoken about, this scheme to ensure that everybody shall do their bit for "their" country appears fair and plausible, providing everybody starts fair.

For a very long time certain people in and out of the House of Commons have been urging that Labour Exchanges should be used as recruiting centres and the more youthful among the unemployed instructed in the benefits of joining up and seeing the world, &c. Up to the present, no Government or Minister has dared to sanction this proposition.

It is as certain as the day that men of military age who are unemployed for any long period will, in a very short time, find themselves before one of these advisory councils, who will tell them where their duty lies. The fact is that the out-and-out conscriptionists will agitate until this is done.

The unemployed, up to the present, have provided a large proportion of would-be recruits—rejected because they were

(Continued on page 5)

West Indies Commission Finds

"Disgusting" Conditions

MEMBERS of the Royal Commission inquiring into conditions in the West Indies have found that housing and living conditions in the slum areas of Kingston, Jamaica, are "deplorable, disgusting, and depressing."

This opinion was formed (reports *The Gleaner*, a Jamaican newspaper), after a morning's tour of the very worst places. The commissioners split up into five parties, each under the direction of a competent guide.

All the parties had similar experiences. They discovered that people rented plots of land from someone who rented a larger area from someone else, who had himself sub-let from the owner. The profiteering that followed the speculations of these intermediaries became a burden for the "smallest" man to bear.

Rent—Half Income

Miserable shacks, eight feet by seven, with earth floors and insufficient ventilation, were the rule rather than the exception. The average rental was 1s. 6d. per week.

One man questioned by the commissioners said he had been out of work for six months. His sole means of sustenance was 3s. a week brought in by his wife. Out of that they paid 1s. 6d. rent.

WINTER HOLIDAYS

The I.Y.T. programme of many interesting holiday arrangements with particular appeal to young people, is now available.

SNOW SPORTS

Skis and Tuition provided } 9 days £9 15 0 NO 16 days £13 2 6 EXTRAS

(1) INTERNATIONAL YOUTH TOURS, LTD., 250, Camden Road, London, N.W.1 Tel.: GULiver 1443



Lord Ponsonby

ON OTHER PAGES

An Englishman Looks at France	...	3
The Editor's Point of View	...	6
How they answered in 1916	...	6
Speaking Personally	...	9



THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT : : By James Hudson

"Official Indiscretion" by De La Warr?

Labour and Conscription: Need for a New League

LORD DE LA WARR'S speech at Bradford was surprising enough to the pacifists among whom, once on a day, he numbered himself. But their astonishment was as nothing to that of Members who were discussing it in the lobbies.

It is surely unprecedented that a Cabinet Minister, just as his chief is about to engage in further difficult and delicate negotiations for the furtherance of what is officially described as a policy of appeasement, should select that moment to declare that the only way to talk to the most powerful nation in Europe was with arms.

The only way to preserve the peace of Europe, he said, was to take a stand that would involve the risk of war. The policy of appeasement had got us nowhere, he suggested. Friendly words and friendly actions were mistaken for cowardice. It seemed, he said, that nothing we could do could satisfy Germany.

The Prime Minister is to be closely questioned about the significance of this speech. Unfortunately these notes must be away to the printers before any reply is offered about the collective responsibility of the Cabinet for the utterances of its members.

Premier Losing Patience?

ON the Government side of the House, it is already being put into the mouth of the Prime Minister that the speech was just the exuberant outburst of one of his naughty younger Ministers who will not do it any more. But there is another view, with which I am disposed to agree, that Mr. Chamberlain is reaching the end of his tether in the pursuit of what he calls appeasement. Lord De La Warr's speech, it is said, is the skilful British way of enabling Mr. Chamberlain to tell Hitler where he "gets off."

Thus, runs the argument, Lord De La Warr was only carrying out instructions, as the Italian deputies carried out theirs when they chanted in chorus for the return of Corsica and Tunis.

If this is really the correct explanation we have reached a highly dangerous situation. Considered merely as a hypothesis, there is nothing extravagant about it. It fits in exactly with the policy of a Government which pretends in one breath to have brought "Peace for our time" and in the next gives orders for the most gigantic programme of armaments this country has ever known in peace time.

Conscription Plans

EVEN the armaments programme is hardly as significant as the Government announcement to plunge headlong into full-blooded conscription immediately that war is declared. No proclamation of that sort preceded August, 1914. It then took nearly two years to foist conscription on to the country.

But Sir John Anderson dismissed in his statement all possibility of delay in the next war. He has his scheme ready. National Register and the Registrar-General between them are to put the whole country, docketed and trussed, ready for war within a week or two of its commencement.

Apparently, Sir John and the Government count on getting Labour approval for all this. They say to themselves, no doubt, that Sir John Simon was very troublesome in his opposition to conscription between 1914 and 1916. But look at him now, they exclaim. So why should not Labour also be easy to convert?

There are signs already that this is too complacent a view. Mr. Ernest Bevin has already voiced a strong protest against the voluntary scheme announced for peace time.

Sir John Anderson's reference to the necessity for contractual obligation on the part of those who volunteer for service under the Government's scheme makes it clear that just as voluntarism lives and dies with the first step the soldier takes into the army, so also it will die when the worker crosses the threshold of the factories to be organized under the schemes of Sir John Anderson and the industrial magnates. No wonder Mr. Bevin protested! We may hear

of further opposition from the Labour benches when the full realization of this dawns upon their occupants.

Pertinent Question

THE brawling in the Rome Chamber about Tunis and Corsica has created ill feeling both in France and in the House of Commons. The new Labour Member for Doncaster, Mr. John Morgan, put a pertinent question to the Prime Minister as to whether any pact or covenant existed which would require this country to go to the aid of France, if Italy attacked her.

One does not quite know what sort of a reply Mr. Morgan expected to get to that question. He used to be a pacifist. But he has also committed himself to the so-called principle of collective security which may impel him to the belief that we ought to go to war to defend the colonial empire of France.

But the theory of collective security is about dead, and perhaps Mr. Morgan's faith in it is dead too. In any case, as the Prime Minister could not, or dare not, answer his question, but asked instead for notice, it is to be hoped that Mr. Morgan

will persist in his inquiries, both for his own better instruction and ours.

Profit from Colonies

MR. R. S. HUDSON, the Secretary for the Overseas Trade Department, disposed of the claim that the British Empire runs its colonies on the basis of a fair and equal opportunity for all, when he said:

As a result of the quota policy which we had imposed upon our colonies in favour of Lancashire, the exports of British cotton textiles had increased from £4,000,000 to £7,800,000 in five years. Our share of the trade with the colonies has increased from 57 percent to 66 percent, while the share of Japan has decreased from 27 to 9 percent.

Still Lancashire was not satisfied. So we can hardly expect that Japan would be. No wonder the British Government is slow to respond to the demand for a world economic conference.

Lord Ponsonby initiated a debate in the House of Lords on November 30 urging on the Government the necessity for the removal of military obligations from the Covenant of the League, and for the League to become an all-inclusive body for

deliberating on and, if possible, resolving economic, currency, tariff and colonial problems.

A New League

A real League was necessary, not the League as it is. It must be based not on military obligations to punish or thwart, but on economic advantages to be shared by every one of us.

To secure this it was necessary to advocate, as van Zeeland had done, the preparation of the ground on which, later, the general work of international economic collaboration could be carried on. Lord Ponsonby insisted that there should be added to the issues, which van Zeeland agreed should be the subject of early inquiry, the questions of the Mandates and of the future of Africa.

The Government, however, he said, were always more interested in arming this country to the teeth and in preparing for another war. The positive steps for peace which the Prime Minister returned from Munich proclaiming himself as ready to take, appeared to be nothing more than accelerating armament production and further elaborating air raid precautions.

This had caused widespread disappointment, especially among those who acclaimed the Prime Minister's move.

Lord Cecil stuck closely to sanctions which Lord Marley said had never succeeded and never could succeed. The latter was ninety percent, he said, with Lord Ponsonby.

From the Editor's Notebook

How Czech Politics were Misrepresented: Rebuilding the Adelphi: G.L.'s Party Engagement

PROF. GEORGE CATLIN is one of the few who have been granted an interview with the new Premier of Czechoslovakia, M. Rudolf Beran. They met last July.

M. Beran's views on the Central European situation then are very interesting.

Speaking to Prof. Catlin as the chairman of the largest single party apart from the Sudeten, he expressed his gratitude for Mr. Chamberlain's declaration of two months earlier.

After outlining certain plans for compromise, now obsolete, he expressed his personal willingness to see Herr Henlein in the Coalition Government on the basis of readiness to work this compromise.

M. Beran confessed that he regarded the best basis for the peace of Europe and the permanent security of Czechoslovakia—this in July—to be an Anglo-German understanding.

Professor Catlin inquired whether this meant that he approved of a Four-Power Pact. His reply was, "Yes, a Four-Power Pact."

As Professor Catlin comments, no little confusion in the public mind in Britain has been caused by the utterly wrong identification of the views and desires of M. Benesh with those of the largest parties among the Czech people. Much of this confusion was the result of deliberate propaganda for military purposes. Mr. Lloyd George's *Truth about the Peace Treaties*, vol. II, is illuminating about this general issue.

IT is also worth noting that, last July, Professor Catlin found it impossible to get any report of this interview into the British press—apart from the pages of *The Times*.

He tells me that one eminent foreign authority, attended to by a normally friendly journal, expressed the opinion that it would only confuse the mind of the British public on the foreign situation if attention were called to domestic issues in Czech politics; that is to the wide extent to which Czech non-Benesh opinion was prepared to welcome an accommodation with Germany without war. It was necessary, in the interest of collective security to talk about "betrayal," whatever Czechs themselves might think.

We drew attention in this newspaper at the time, I remember, to the fact that Mr. Vyvyan Adams, MP, gave the case away when he referred to Czechoslovakia as an extension of our own air raid precautions.

And Mr. William Gallagher, Communist MP for West Fife, said that no amount of armaments that could be built would compensate for the hole that was knocked in

our defences when the Czechoslovakian Maginot line was handed over to Germany.

WHEN so world-renowned a scientist and mathematician as Sir Arthur Eddington chairs a pacifist meeting it is surely news.

The distinguished author of *The Nature of the Physical World*, *New Pathways in Science* and *The Mathematics of the Theory of Relativity* was the central figure of the platform at a recent Peace Pledge Union meeting at Cambridge. Present also were George Lansbury, Vera Brittain, Canon C. E. Raven and Dr. Alex Wood.

A pacifist is often regarded as a person whose head is in the clouds. It is good to have as company so famous an authority on the stars.

The Adelphi

SUPPING with Max Plowman the other night, he told me that he is setting out doggedly to get another thousand subscribers to *The Adelphi*.

If he maintains the quality and quantity of his current—the third—issue he should easily achieve his object, especially if, as he hopes, every devoted reader of the magazine will draw the attention of just one friend to it.

The current issue is notable for an article by a fellow Scot, William Soutar, on *Pacifist Faith and Necessity*. It is as stiff a piece

"Peace News" Offices.
3, Blackstock Road,
London, N.4

New Role for G.L.

I LEARN that George Lansbury has consented to be President of the Good Companions, whose activities have already been referred to in these notes.

In this capacity he will attend the party to be given by the Companions for the East End unemployed on December 17. This is to be held, by the way, not in the East End Mission, as was previously announced, but in the hall of Trinity Church, East India Dock Road. The hall has kindly been given free of charge by the Rev. William Dick.

The Companions' funds are still short of what is needed, and well-wishers are not yet too late to contribute. The address is: c/o City of London Group, Peace Pledge Union, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

They Want to Entertain

I CALL the attention of the Good Companions and other similar bodies to the "Gay Vagabonds" Concert Party, who are ever willing to assist in entertaining parties such as the Companions are organizing.

Most of the Party are members of South Woodford Congregational Church. Their services, of course, are given free of charge. The secretary is Mr. W. Reginald Gowers, 20 Maybank Avenue, South Woodford, E.18.

A. S.

Don't say you can't afford

THE ADELPHI

Seven Penny Stamps

will secure you

The Pacifist Monthly

(Edited by MAX PLOWMAN)

you need if you take the problems of pacifism seriously. Intelligent propaganda depends upon the continual activity of creative imagination in the pacifist himself—that is what Blake meant by "the mental fight" to "build Jerusalem."

To awaken the sleeping imagination of this country is the purpose of "The Adelphi."

The December number contains an answer to the Marxist—"Pacifist Faith and Necessity" by William Soutar—that every pacifist must read.

7d. post free

post free 7d.

The Adelphi, 12, Woodside, Erskine Hill, London, N.W.11

WHITEHALL THEATRE — WHI 6692
Evenings, 8.30. Matinees, Wed. & Sat. 2.30
Extra Matinee Boxing Day, 2.30
GLORIOUS MORNING
by Norman MacOwan
OVER 200 PERFS. OF THIS FAMOUS PLAY
NOW TO BE SEEN AT
1/6 to 3/6 HALF PRICES
ALL SEATS BOOKABLE

AN ENGLISHMAN LOOKS AT FRANCE

DISARM—OR DISAPPEAR!

Gandhi's Warning To The Democracies

THE democracies cannot escape a terrible fate except "through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method," warns Mr. M. K. Gandhi in his weekly, *Harijan*. This, he adds, means they must give up imperialistic ambitions.

Replying to criticisms that he urged the use of non-violence upon Czechoslovakia, a small nation, and not upon the big Powers, he points out that this was a result of the circumstances in which the Czechs were placed.

"It is, however, open to the great Powers to take it [non-violence] up any day, and cover themselves with glory and earn the eternal gratitude of posterity," he continues.

"If they or any of them could shed the fear of destruction, if they disarmed themselves, they will automatically help the rest to regain their sanity. But then these great Powers have to give up imperialistic ambitions and exploitation of the so-called uncivilized or semi-civilized nations of the earth and revise their mode of life.

"COMPLETE REVOLUTION"

"It means a complete revolution. Great nations can hardly be expected in the ordinary course to move spontaneously in a direction the reverse of the one they have followed, and, according to their notion of value, from victory to victory.

"But miracles have happened before and may happen even in this very prosaic age. Who can dare limit God's power of undoing wrong?

"One thing is certain. If the mad race for armaments continues, it is bound to result in a slaughter such as has never occurred in history. If there is a victor left the very victory will be a living death for the nation that emerges victorious. There is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications.

ONLY ALTERNATIVE

"Democracy and violence can ill go together. The States that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent.

"It is a blasphemy to say that non-violence can only be practised by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals."

Aid For Peace Hospital in China

An appeal has been issued for money in aid of the International Peace Hospital in South Shansi, China, where wounded soldiers and civilians are cared for.

The appeal points out that the hospital is more than a centre for the wounded; there are refugee camps round about whose occupants can be taught to read and write and to take up useful handicrafts.

Contributions should be sent to the China Campaign Committee, Parliament Mansions, Orchard Street, London, S.W.1.

CHINA BAZAAR

For months women in China have been collecting both rare treasures of their ancient civilization, and a multitude of cheaper useful gifts within the reach of every Christmas shopper.

On December 9 and 10 English people will have an opportunity of buying these gifts at a China Bazaar to be held in the Livingstone Hall, Broadway, London, S.W.1. The sale is a further effort to provide funds for the International Peace Hospital.

Loses a Prejudice on His First Day There

THIS is the first of a short series of articles dealing with everyday life in other countries.

ON my first day in France I lost a prejudice. A slight one, but still a prejudice. It was against the French people.

Probably it arose from one or two chance meetings in England which had proved unfortunate. The growth of these irrational prejudices is usually very gradual, and this one was probably formed over a long period.

I lost it in a motor-bus, travelling from Dieppe to Varengeville. The passengers on this bus were almost a small community. They had never met before, as far as I could tell, but if one passenger was in difficulty, such as becoming involved in an argument with the conductor over the fare or the stopping places, everyone else would take up the cudgels on behalf of their fellow-traveller.

I had asked the conductor to tell me when we arrived at Varengeville, but this was not good enough, they thought. What part of Varengeville did I want? I gave the address, and at least three people promised to warn me in good time.

The bus travelled at a tremendous rate along the narrow country roads, losing no opportunity of sounding its ear-splitting siren. During the half-hour that followed, I talked to several of my neighbours, all thoroughly likeable people. I left the bus at Varengeville, and wondered what grounds I had ever had for my prejudice. It had gone.

Precocious Children

SOME French children are rather precocious. I met two eight-year-olds who proudly showed me their packets of cigarettes. This, they felt, established them as men of the world, and soon the conversation was turned to film actresses. What did we think of Danielle Darrieux in England?

I saw them again, later in the day, on the beach. This time they were with father and mother, and a very small sister. Mother had the usual long loaf under her arm, and the wine and fruit in a basket, for French families do not believe in waste. No "food out" if they are going on the beach.

On the other hand, there are many families who make a practice of having the chief meal of the day in their cafe. These are the families that are perhaps a little better off. The cafe is, of course, the Frenchman's club. He has his favourite one, where he has meals, an occasional drink, writes letters, and meets his friends.

Film Fans

FAMILY life is more in evidence in France than in England. In cinemas and theatres the family party is common. I spent most of my time with a French family, and went often to the local cinema.

It was rather surprising to find a long interval half-way through the performance. Everyone trooped out into the street to enjoy some fresh air, for there seemed to be no ventilation in the cinema, and French cigarettes are rather evil-smelling. Some minutes later, the audience was recalled by a very insistent electric bell.

The seats in the cinemas are not dear, especially in the small towns, and film-going is very popular. Quite often American films are shown, with French sound effects. This means that sound and lip-movements are not synchronized properly, which is rather a drawback. However, the average Frenchman will put up with this in order to see his favourite American actor or actress.

The French colour-sense is very impressive. Women with practically no money to spend on clothes manage to look well-dressed. Their choice of colour is seldom far out. Black is very popular for women's costumes, and pastel shades, carefully chosen, go to make very attractive outfits.

IF you sit at a cafe in the main square of a medium-sized French town, you will be amazed at the noise.

Motor-cycles will pass which have no silencers at all. Very light motor-cycles are popular, owing to tax concessions, and they buzz like angry wasps. Practically every car, and many buses and lorries, are fitted with sirens. Blasts from these can be heard over a long distance, and the Frenchman's temperament, and his driving methods, ensure their frequent use.

Sitting at your table, you will soon pick out the local celebrities. They will be dressed in good black cloth, with large and shiny black boots, wing collars, and rather prominent tie-pins. Usually rather stout, they will bow gravely, or greet cordially, according to the standing of the other. If it is evening, you will see the mothers out for a stroll with their unmarried daughters. Usually mother is in black and the daughter very attractive.

Frugal Housewives

FRENCH housewives are very frugal, and are world-famous as cooks. Their kitchens are spotlessly clean, and they can provide varied and satisfying meals on a very small housekeeping allowance.

There seems no limit to the different ways in which veal can be cooked and served by a Frenchwoman! They use many different and inexpensive herbs in their cooking, and are especially good at making salads.

They are also good needlewomen, and very often make their own clothes. Through open doorways, in the evening, you have glimpses of women busy at their machines after finishing the housework, for they are very hard-working.

The average Frenchman is very interested in politics and has endless discussions in the cafes. "Now, if I were in power, the first thing I should —" Generally speaking, a Frenchwoman would be reluctant to discuss politics. She does not consider it her business, and leaves such things to her husband, she will tell you.

I stayed only in the North of France, and found the countryside not unlike that of the English South-Eastern counties. It is surprising, too, how little is the difference in appearance between the average Northern Frenchman, and the average Englishman.

The only noticeable difference is in the dress. If the Frenchman is fairly young, his clothes are perhaps a little more flamboyant than those of his English counterpart. But to French eyes, doubtless, Englishmen dress too soberly!

Peter Coates



Market day in Dieppe

Left Army As Protest Against War Policy

BECAUSE "after much consideration I have come to see that military training is but one step in the total process of preparation for war," an American reserve officer, Lieutenant James K. McWhirter, of the 82nd Division, 326th Infantry, of Royston, Georgia, has resigned from the army.

In his letter of resignation he stated: "I came into the Reserve Corps through the ROTC at the University of Georgia. I took advanced training because at that time I was unaware that by so doing I was committing myself to the war philosophy."

The ROTC is presented to the students as a force making for peace and good will. I have come to realize that this is not true. The Military Department prepares people psychologically to accept the institution of war. . . History shows that wars come when nations prepare for war. This was true in 1914 and promises to be the likely outcome of the present mad armament race.

They Don't Want Our Arms Order

The British orders to American firms for 400 war airplanes costing £5,000,000 have been attacked by a group of American peace organizations including the Women's International League, National Council for Prevention of War and the Fellowship of Reconciliation as a beginning of a new war trade.

"This is the beginning of a new commerce in munitions like that which drew us into the World War," said the spokesman for the pro-neutrality bloc of peace organizations.

4%

FREE OF INCOME TAX

St. Pancras Building Society is able to pay this exceptional rate to shareholders because it passes on to them the full profit made on its mortgages—less only the relatively small sum needed for management expenses and the provision of adequate reserves. An explanatory "Guide for Investors" will be sent free on request.

Managing Director: E. W. BALES

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY
ST. PANCRAS HOUSE, PARK STREET, N.W.1



Letters to the Editor

What is Democracy? Pooling Resources to Aid Refugees: A Christmas Suggestion

IF we reject the decisions of Parliament on such matters as conscription or war, asks Harold Bing (*Peace News*, November 26), are not others equally justified in rejecting the decisions of Parliament on other matters—for example—the nationalization of land or the liquidation of the capitalist system?

Whether justified or not, the fact is that individuals will refuse to obey the law if the law seeks to make them act against their conscience. And that, whether the law is imposed by a dictator, or by a so-called democratic legislature.

Are they wrong? Clearly not. For as Laski says (in *Liberty in the Modern State*, Pelican 6d.) the individual has no option but to follow conscience as a guide to civic action. For: "To do otherwise is to betray freedom. Those who accept commands they know to be wrong, make it easier for wrong commands to be accepted. Those who are silent in the presence of injustice are in fact part authors of it. . . . Liberty means being faithful to oneself and it is maintained by the courage to resist. This and this only, is the clue to the preservation of genuine integrity in the individual life."

"If it is objected that this is a doctrine of contingent anarchy, that it admits the right of men to rebellion, my answer is that the accusation is true. But is its truth important? Order, surely is not the supreme good, and rebellion has not always been wrong."

"Power is not conferred upon men for the sake of power, but to enable them to achieve ends which win happiness for each of us. If what they do is a denial of the purpose they serve; if, as we meet their acts there appears in them an absence of goodwill, a blindness to experience alien to their own, an incapacity imaginatively to meet the wants of others, what alternative have we save a challenge to power or a sacrifice of the end of our life?"

Men will, I repeat, act according to the dictates of their conscience. And we must be thankful that they do. Whether or not in so doing they are acting democratically is a matter of academic interest only. While disobedience of the law should not be entered upon lightly there are times when to obey would be immoral. Instead of putting the emphasis on obedience to the law—thereby stifling our consciences and encouraging misrule—rather should we seek actively the establishment of law having the confidence of the vast majority. Since all rule is ultimately rule by consent, that is the only way to make democracy workable.

W. R. PAGE.
127 Fellows Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.

I am surprised that so much should have been written on the controversy of "how a pacifist should vote," without anyone suggesting the way out of this dilemma of the disfranchised pacifist.

The intelligent citizen's share in the government of his or her country is not confined to the casting of a vote at intervals of four or five years. All pacifists should be members of one or other of the political parties. They would then be in a position, through their local party, to bring pressure on the party executive, and might even influence the policy of the party, and anyway, would have a voice in the choice of a candidate. Or might even become pacifist candidates themselves.

It is a pity so many pacifists have left the Labour Party. There is no remedy in secession. FRANK R. HANCOCK.
Prospective Labour Candidate, Monmouth.
Graig View, Cwmoy, Abergavenny, Mon.

Harold Bing suggests that a democrat is one who "ceases to oppose something he believes to be evil because the majority has decided upon it." If this description were really accurate, then all the best elements in society would reject the democratic system and it would deservedly perish. Enlightened citizens must always be seeking to overcome evil.

Democracy, however, is not an unchangeable system fixed by some such definition as that quoted above. Nor does its claim to support spring from the idea of majority rule. Its true virtue is that it allows every individual a voice in the affairs of the nation and in shaping his own destiny.

The democrat makes a serious mistake when he urges the coercion of minorities. For the very idea of democracy originated in the natural unwillingness of the individual to be dictated to. And it is not only wrong for one man to dictate to many; it is also wrong for a majority to dictate to a small (or it may well be a very large) minority.

From this it follows that the motive which prompts us to embrace democracy (desire for individual liberty, and freedom from coercion) requires a pacifist order of society for its proper fulfilment. Thus, Mr. Bing's argument that we cannot be good democrats if we are good pacifists is unsound. Rather it is that we cannot be good democrats unless we are also good pacifists.

Again, although he gives a timely warning against trying to choose the lesser of two evil political policies, Mr. Bing then makes proposals that still leave the electorate with the choice of two evils: either they must vote for policies which will lead to war, or they must abstain from voting—which will lead to dictatorship (and then again to war!).

If Mr. Bing can believe that by putting to both candidates questions which will show how their different policies will both lead to war, we should be carrying out useful propaganda, can he not see how enormously the value of that would be enhanced if, in addition, we had our own candidate? For we should then be able to meet the non-pacifist candidates on equal

terms, from our own platform, and not from the back of some hall; we should be giving the electorate a definite alternative for which to vote; and we should be able to conduct our own personal canvass of the constituency and thus bring home to the common people something of which as yet they are almost completely ignorant, namely, that we have a constructive and practical alternative to that of armaments, ARP, national registers, and war.

Some of us are already busy with this task, and we are making progress, but we need the help of many more.

W. L. WILLIAMS.
General Secretary, Christian Pacifist Party.
11 Morningside, Coventry, Warks.

IHAVE been interested in reading Dora Holden's carefully reasoned comment on my article on pacifists and elections. She seems to have failed to observe, however, that in the paragraph in which she accuses me of presenting the pacifist with a new dilemma, I was in fact merely trying to demonstrate the dilemma involved in Lord Sanderson's article.

I must also remark that her use of the word "acceptance" is one which in reality deprives it of all political significance: it amounts to no more than a recognition of the fact that a proposed law has secured the support of a majority of the Members of Parliament. In the same sense one might "accept" the decrees of a dictator, i.e. recognize that in fact he had issued them!

Surely the duty of a democrat, certainly in the mind of Lord Sanderson whose article started the controversy, is more than this. Surely it involves obeying the law once it has been approved by the majority. That is the whole meaning of democracy—government by the majority.

Dora Holden seems to suggest that, the majority having decided upon its policy and the minority having recognized that the majority has made such a decision, the minority is then free to pursue a policy in complete opposition to that majority policy. I am not opposing these extreme claims she is making for the rights of minorities, but to call such a state of affairs democracy is confusing the issue by giving to that word an entirely different meaning from the accepted one. Democratic-Anarchism would be a better description if one must label it!

Democracy, as at present understood, implies the right of the majority to compel obedience to majority decisions by all the machinery of the State, police, prisons, and ultimately the armed forces. This being so can a pacifist be a democrat?

HAROLD F. BING.
The Folk House, College Green, Bristol, 1.

ISHOULD like to point out that Andrew Stewart, in his article "Throw open the Door," has omitted any mention of the co-ordinating Committee for Refugees, now at work in London. The members of the Committee are as follows:

Catholic Committee for Refugees from Germany;
Church of England Committee for Non-Aryan Christians;
German Jewish Aid Committee;
Inter-Aid Committee for Children coming from Germany;
International Student Service;
Labour Party;
Society of Friends (Germany Emergency and Austria Committees);
Society for the Protection of Science and Learning;
Trades Union Congress.

The headquarters of the committee are at 5 Mecklenburgh Square, London, W.C.1.
E. SOPHIE JOHNSON.

19, Malton Way,
York.

"I was well aware of the existence of the Co-ordinating Committee, which, however, does not quite satisfy my requirements. I seek the co-ordination of all refugees relief and rescue organizations, with pooling of all funds and resources, for the effective tackling of the refugee problem as a whole.—ANDREW STEWART."

CAN we in England think of the difference between our position this Christmas and that of the Spanish civilians and German Jews without being spurred on to take some effective action?

May I suggest that this Christmas we tell all our friends to whom we usually make Christmas presents that we intend to hand over the money usually used for buying slippers, ties, &c., to the funds for the relief of Spanish children or the funds for Jewish refugees, and propose to them that they do the same. Hundreds of Spanish children could be saved from hunger, and their mothers from mental anguish, even if this scheme were adopted only by readers of *Peace News*.

Would not this be a real expression of good will and a gesture appropriate to the time of the year?

DESMOND HARTLEY.

46 Lonsdale Square, London, N.1.

Arabs and Britons in Palestine

MR. LIONEL COWAN'S answer to my letter of October 22, is merely begging the question.

He mentions Ragheb Bey Nashisbi among his prominent Arabs who have fled from Palestine, i.e., fled from their "extremist" countrymen. Has he read the recent pronouncement of Ragheb Bey Nashisbi, almost ignored by the British press, which boldly states: "There is no person, whether in Palestine or in any other Arab country, who does not oppose till death the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. There is no discord of opinion or of principles between Arab parties in Palestine. During the present critical situation the Palestine Arabs stand like one man in defence of their existence, which is sacred to them. It is a mere chimera to try and divide the Arabs of Palestine into extremists and moderates."

It is true that some Arabs in Palestine have been killed by Arabs. These men have not been charged with belonging to the "moderate" party, but with other offences against their people.

Let Mr. Cowan not try to mislead the British public. We Arabs rely not on parties or on British bayonets, but on the merits of our just cause.

GEORGE MANSUR,
Former Secretary, Arab Labour Federation.
The Arab Centre, 554-8 Grand Building,
Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2.

THE November 26 number of *Peace News* brought not only numerous valuable contributions concerning the need of persecuted Jews in Germany but also practical proposals for help which I appreciate very much.

The last page contains a political commentary dealing with the retaliation measures of British troops in Palestine. I quite agree that pacifists have to be against war-like military actions, even in the case of an armed revolt and terrorist actions of the Arabs. But I don't understand why the reference to Hitler and Mussolini is necessary in condemning the "Barbarous British Methods."

The headline, "Our Army makes Hitler look humane!" is a kind of moral support for the pogrom of Nazis against the unarmed and innocent people who will soon leave Germany.

I think pacifists have to protest against all cruelties and oppression in the world and therefore a statement that British barbarism "makes human" war and terrorism in Abyssinia or Germany seems to me illogical.

I wonder if this statement was only a hasty remark or a principal attitude.

VIENNESE PACIFIST.

Readers' Views on National Service

WHEN I read John S. Hoyland's recent article on community service it raised, in my mind, some very important points. Is it true to say that we pacifists are opposed to national service simply because of its military nature? I venture to suggest that the fact of the alleged "service" being "national" is as much anathema.

For my part I am not concerned with a "more adequate expression" of my patriotism. I do not reckon love of country as a virtue to be cultivated. I do not feel called upon to justify to the Government my opposition to national service in particular, and my pacifist convictions in general, by offering, or by doing, non-military national service.

Support of any form of national service is a very dangerous line for pacifists to take, leading, I firmly believe, to one goal, the totalitarian State. The utilization of the machinery and the accomplished labour of the work camps by the Government in the time of a national emergency seems to be a simple matter.

If any justification is required, other than to our conscience, it should be to the community in which we live.

Community service, in its truest sense, is the pacifist answer to national service. The openings for such service are varied and outside the scope of any official handbook. They will give to the pacifist ample opportunity to develop the qualities of personality and individuality and to propagate the cause in the proper place, i.e., our own community.

WILL HAYDEN,
PPU Group leader, Highbury, N.5.
76 Calabria Road, N.5.

IHOPE I am not the only one of your readers who was shocked by the article of Montgomery Conn in your issue of November 19, and staggered by the article of John S. Hoyland in your issue of November 26.

Does *Peace News* suggest that pacifists should fill in (even from a pacifist standpoint) a questionnaire which, whether voluntary or compulsory, is a step toward conscription and either a very serious preparation for war or a serious

bluff to make people still more war-minded? And does *Peace News* think that the consciences of pacifists should be worried because they could find no satisfactory "national service" to do to satisfy their "patriotism" in the recent crisis?

I can understand a policy which says "pay your income tax," because not paying it at this stage hamstringing the power to prevent war and to preach pacifism—it is justified only by expediency. But surely there comes a time when pacifists must stand by their principles and take the consequences.

I suggest that the only right attitude for pacifists to is fight war preparations wherever they see them. I suggest that anyone who is still worried by a "patriotic" conscience should cease to call himself a pacifist, because patriotism and pacifism are fundamentally irreconcilable except in the sense that what is good for the world is also good for the country wherein we happen to have been born.

But perhaps you take no responsibility for the views of your contributors. I hope you don't!

HAROLD F. HUTCHISON.
6 Cholmeley Lodge, Highgate Hill, N.6.

IS the philosophy of pacifism only to be actively expressed when war between nations is immediately threatened or in progress? This is what the article by J. S. Hoyland (*Peace News*, November 26) seems to imply.

Surely the pacifist must see the need for action on major and urgent issues every day and all around him. Does the pacifist not rebel against a thousand aspects of day-to-day life and see the need for an incessant struggle for a better scheme of things in which war is only one of an innumerable number of wrongs to be righted?

The pacifist will not have to look far then to find services to perform for the community. I would offer for the earnest consideration of Mr. Hoyland the suggestion that manual labour is an act which we can all perform as individuals either to help ourselves or to help others. The struggle toward a finer social order is on the other hand a struggle which needs organization and incessant effort and which must occupy the

full attention both of the PPU as an organization and of every individual pacifist, and which, I have every reason to believe, in general does.

GEORGE BARBER.

12, Tanza Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.

WHAT is the essence of the proposed national register? It is not to allocate work of national importance to everyone but to make everyone fill up a form.

This form is to serve as a basis for compulsion in war time, and is a first step toward military and industrial conscription. Why then cannot the Peace Pledge Union give a clear lead on principle that members should decline the forms and refuse to give any information whatever?

It is a specious argument, born of weakness, which says that pacifists should fill up the form and tell the authorities that they are going to preach pacifism and succour the helpless and so on. They have already sold the pass by agreeing to answer the questionnaire at all.

A. G. HIGGINS.
The Brotherhood Church, Stapleton, nr. Pontefract

IN a recent communication from Peace Pledge Union headquarters on national service is the following: "Service in which pacifists could and should join—e.g. (a) The Pacifist First Aid Corps (for those who think on these lines)."

Pacifists who are thinking on those lines should read Corder Catchpool's *On Two Fronts*. The lesson is plain: for those who renounced war and refused to support or sanction another, the only place left was, in 1917-18, in a country organized for war—jail.

I suggest that the only national service for which we can safely organize is helping the sick and poor. International service can safely be of wider scope, and although it is difficult to attain and hold this wider view we ought to come out more into the open as world citizens.

E. E. HAIGH.
23 Cromwell Road, Birchgrove, Cardiff.

Drive to Make Us A Nation of Conscrip

(continued from page 1)

below the required standard of physical fitness.

This scheme will work in very nicely with reconditioning centres where starved and physically weak men are nursed back to life. What, in the judgment of experts chosen by the Government, will be more fitting for these men restored to physical fitness than joining up and serving the nation in the armed Forces?

Industrial Conscription

THIS scheme is a very clever and audacious effort to introduce industrial conscription—and, indeed, to introduce this hateful system into many other departments of life.

The black-coated proletariat may well provide the bulk of employed victims. Men and boys will be told that girls and women can do their jobs, just as they were during the Derby scheme.

Others will find themselves cajoled or persuaded to join not only ARP courses and other voluntary part-time work, but also the Territorial and other similar armed Forces. Employers will be urged not to coerce employees, but gently and firmly to persuade them where their duty calls them.

So far as I could understand the scheme, workers will be asked to give up one kind of job for another, and certain people will be told their businesses are superfluous and therefore may be closed down, and those engaged in such callings will be told where their labour and services may be best employed.

If this system is accepted, the entire industry of the nation will speedily come under the control of a handful of "monopolist trusts."

Object of the Scheme

AS everybody knows, I am a Socialist; as such I would very gladly welcome and help forward a true scheme of voluntary "national service."

This is no such scheme. We are told plainly that we are in a "state of emergency"; every fit man and woman must volunteer to do as he or she is told in order to make our country powerful and strong in the counsels of the nations.

This scheme is a very pale pink imitation of the system in vogue in Germany and Italy. In those countries there is not the slightest pretence of volunteering. The whole population is organized according to plans which cover every department of life.

Our Government professes a desire, which I want to believe is genuine, not to introduce any such drastic measures as those which are experienced in the totalitarian States.

Anyone who thinks for a moment must recognize the fact that men out of work, men employed in what are known as sheltered industries, and men in offices and warehouses know all there is to know about the fighting Services, yet they do not join up in sufficient numbers to satisfy those who claim to decide how and in what way the man-power of the nation shall be used.

Bound to Fail

THIS scheme will fail because no single person, in or out of Parliament, can tell us what the threatened war will be about.

The so-called "man-in-the-street" quite thoroughly understands the implied threat of the Lord Privy Seal that, should the scheme fail, then a more drastic scheme will be enforced. This frightens nobody, because it is well known that our people are willing to make great sacrifices in order to safeguard these shores but are becoming increasingly unwilling to embark on an imperialist war they know nothing about and which they have been told on good authority must end in universal disaster.

This latter is the crux of the whole question of peace and war. A refusal to accept this scheme, a refusal to accept conscription does not, I am sorry to say, mean that we pacifists have converted a majority of the nation.

It does mean that the overwhelming mass of the people will support Mr. Chamberlain or any other statesman in the pursuit of peace, but are determined not to be

led blindfold into another war, a war which will destroy every vestige of civil and political liberty our people have won.

Pacifists' Duty

OUR work is clear before us; we must continue our propaganda with redoubled zeal, working with whoever will work with us to make people understand the terrible futility and cynical wickedness of the Government's policy of ever-increasing armaments, no matter who supports that policy.

In a world controlled by those considered as "superior," the masses must make the voice of reason and common sense heard.

This scheme is the logical outcome of policy. With the very greatest respect to the judgment of the Prime Minister and his colleagues, and those in other parties who support this scheme, it is really impossible for ordinary people to understand how this colossal expenditure and attempted organization of national life on a war basis can possibly make for peace. Neither is it possible for ordinary, common-sense people to believe that if these terrible forces all nations are creating are let loose, anything but ruin must inevitably result.

People like myself have never been more cowardly than others, nor do we value our freedom and liberty less than anyone else does.

Some of us throughout our lives have always seen where imperialism and militarism would land us, and now events and conditions show us how right the intuitive judgment of ordinary people, when quite free to express itself, really is.

End of Democracy

SIR JOHN ANDERSON, our Lord Privy Seal, is nothing if not direct and straight to the point in his argument. In solemn tones, to a House of Commons stilled to silence by the seriousness of his words, he told us of his plans for turning this ancient, freedom-loving people from a democracy into a totalitarian State.

This new register is useful, for in peacetime the word "voluntary" may possibly, though not positively, serve a purpose till war comes. Then a new census will be taken and all fit men and women will be told what they are to do. A few, relatively speaking, will have been told this before the outbreak of war; others will be under contract as to the place they must occupy.

The great mass, for the first time since the Great War, will find themselves ordered as to where they shall work or whether they shall join the Services. There will apparently be no choice and, so far, no mention of what is to become of conscientious objectors.

In any case, should a major war come, Great Britain and her allies who possess any such freedom as ourselves will throw freedom to the wind and our lives will be organized on a totalitarian basis in order to destroy totalitarianism.

Do Not Despair

SHALL we give up in despair? No! A thousand times, no. We must do our utmost to make our views as widely known as possible, and in doing so, never forget that those to whom we are opposed are in the main as honest as ourselves.

They feel keenly, as I hope all pacifists do, the horrible suffering and misery there is in the world today. Our task is to make clear the fact that we cannot cast out those evils by adding cruelty and murder to cruelty and murder.

Our bodies are of no more value to us than the bodies of our opponents are to them. We fight these preparations for organizing the nation for war because, once war comes, everything will be lost—not only lives but all the progress of the ages.

We must state our case clearly and ask our friends to think and decide for themselves. We cannot afford even to appear to dictate to others or fail to respect their opinions.

The Alternative

MY part in the future cannot be a very long one, so I may be forgiven even if later I am proved wrong. I do not believe war is inevitable, as so many of my friends do.

My conviction is that the struggle of the future is not one connected with political

ideologies. No; the foundation fact facing all peoples, ourselves included, is:

How can the competitive, chaotic struggle which divides nations within their own borders, and sets nation against nation in a struggle for room to live and for raw materials and markets, be gradually or swiftly transformed into national and international cooperation?

Already Germany, Italy and Russia, and Britain and the USA all trade together and, in spite of much bluster in the House of Commons, will continue to do so.

It is, we are told, impossible to put new wine into old bottles. It is equally impossible to use the worn-out methods of unrestricted free trade, or quotas, tariffs and restrictions. The new world economy must be one of cooperative expansion. All economists, statesmen and others know this, and because the facts are known the demand for a new world conference will grow and grow.

If Mr. Chamberlain, Major Attlee and Sir Archibald Sinclair would unitedly make an appeal to the world to call a truce in armaments and for twelve months settle down to a genuine effort to discover how the nations of the earth can enjoy the benefits of science and invention, they would be leading this nation and the whole world along a road of noble national service, a road which would lead the world away from the curse of war to peace, progress and prosperity.

A Black & Tan in Palestine

THE Present Acting Superintendent of Police in Jerusalem, J. D. Hegarty, was formerly a Black and Tan in Ireland (reports Colonial Information Bulletin). (Military operations in Palestine have already been compared in some quarters with the methods adopted during the Irish "trouble").

Like Sir John Anderson, who also was with the Black and Tans, he has been a target for assassins. Twice he has been shot at, twice bombs have been thrown at him, and once an attempt has been made to stab him.

"Satan's twins" is the title which the Arabs have given to him and one of his colleagues, A. J. Eyres. Both of them speak colloquial Arabic and know the "underworld" of Jerusalem's Old City better than many natives.

For the Christmas Stocking

A leaflet urging people to buy useful rather than militaristic toys for their children has just been issued by the National Literature Committee of the American Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1924 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

The leaflet lists suitable and unsuitable toys, those recommended including fire engines, transcontinental aeroplanes, racers, farm tractors, building sets, radio sets, circus sets, musical instruments, &c.

World Conference Petition

6,000,000 Signatures Are Now Sought

A TOTAL of 300,000 forms—allowing for six million signatures to the National Petition for a New Peace Conference—has now been distributed or ordered mainly by the national and regional organizations assisting the petition campaign.

The campaign has been organized by the National Peace Council in conjunction with the Peace Pledge Union and many other organizations. Coordinating committees—apart from individual local organizations—are at work or in process of formation in more than a hundred places.

Additional prominent signatories include Sir Francis Acland and C. Roden Buxton.

Over 35 national or metropolitan organizations have now circulated the petition to their branches. The petition material and an invitation for support has been sent to every church—Anglican and Non-Conformist—in the Greater London area.

The mayors of many towns have agreed to the inclusion of their names among the prominent signatories. In a number of cases they are giving facilities for the display of the petition in public libraries and other public places.

The Oxford University Peace Council has already secured nearly 1,400 signatories of Oxford University students.

The petition has been signed by nearly forty members of the staff of the famous girls' public school, Roedean, Brighton.

The petition committee is now anxious to see a house to house canvass and poster parades wherever possible. It is assumed that there will be very little duplicate signing of forms, but canvassers should make a point of warning people against this and coordinating committees and local organi-

zations (where possible) should scrutinize their forms with this point in view before sending them to petition headquarters.

Leaflets and posters have been specially prepared for use in connexion with the petition, and the following are available from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, S.W.1, or from the headquarters of cooperating organizations:

Leaflet of instructions for local organizations. Arms Race or new Peace Conference?—General leaflet Number 1. 5s. per 1,000 copies, post free.

Can you spare a moment?—General leaflet Number 2. Chiefly intended for house-to-house canvass. 4s. per 1,000 copies, post free.

Arms Race or new Peace Conference? Support the National Petition.—Two sizes—Crown and double-crown.

Except where otherwise indicated all material is issued without obligation to pay for it.

POSTER PARADES

Special poster parades in connexion with the petition will leave Peace Pledge Union headquarters at 96 Regent Street, W.1, at the following dates and times:

Tuesday, December 13, at 6.30 p.m. and 8.15 p.m.
Tuesday, December 20, at 6.30 p.m. and 8.15 p.m.
Saturday, January 7, 1939, at 6.45 p.m. and 8.45 p.m.

A parade will also start outside Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1, on Sunday, December 11, at 6.45 p.m.

Volunteers intending to take part should send their names to the PPU, 96 Regent Street, as soon as possible.

The headquarters of the PPU asks groups to forward the following information as soon as possible:

1. Are you taking steps to obtain signatories to the petition in your area?
2. If so, with what other organizations, if any, are you cooperating?

PEACE PLEDGE UNION THINGS WE WANT YOU TO KNOW

December 9th, 1938

P.P.U. TIES

The Tie of Fellowship

A useful Gift

PRICE 2/- EACH
Postage 1d.

DON'T FORGET TO USE THE MANIFESTO

and NOW
PEACE STAMPS 6d. 100

CHRISTMAS CARDS

By Eric Gill and Arthur Wragg by

Audrey Wynne Hatfield (in colour);

2d. EACH 3/- DOZEN
These discounts only allowable on Firm orders for numbers shown and upwards. ENVELOPES WITH ALL CARDS

P.P.U. DIARIES

1/6 EACH

15/- per dozen
Not Sale or Return except for Bookstalls

THREE WOMEN

a simple illustrated leaflet
Printed one side only
3/- PER 1000

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Telephone: Stamford Hill 6157

Subscription Rates: Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

The Editor's Point of View

Is Democracy Big Enough for the Job?

THERE is at least one encouraging gleam in the week's gloomy course of events on the Continent. It is not, however, the signature of the Franco-German agreement to join the "no more war" movement. For what it is worth, such an agreement is certainly to be welcomed.

But what is it worth? No more (no less, if you prefer it) than the Anglo-German agreement, which, if it has not been followed by war, at any rate has not prevented either the intensification of the arms race or the embittering of Anglo-German feeling. No more (or no less) than the pact already signed by the same Powers—as well as by Italy, Japan, and practically every other country—renouncing war as a method of settling disputes, which has not prevented the use of the method itself on numerous occasions in the last decade, let alone the equally (or more) effective use of the threat of war as an instrument of policy.

Nor is there encouragement in the fact that the possibilities of Franco-German "Appeasement" would be destroyed if M. DALADIER's government were replaced by one less authoritarian.

No; the encouraging thing is to be found in the very country which is now taking its turn to use this "new" instrument of policy. For Italy's somewhat vague, yet apparently quite determined and certainly blustering claims, against France had made some Italians at any rate uneasy. Even Fascists are known to be wishing their country could be allowed to live peaceably, instead of being disturbed by new "adventures."

But the victims of this aggressiveness are not so wise. Instead of a sense of weariness at Italy's pathetically unoriginal method of making a claim, a weariness which should find expression in the treatment of Italy's blustering as a bad joke, France has, by jumping up in arms, done the very thing that Italy wants her to do—taken her wildest demands seriously. The direct result has simply, and naturally, been that the Italian press campaign has thrived and grown stronger.

And so one can see the process going on along the now familiar road to a war situation, where it will be halted by a sensational Italian Munich, at which Italy will be appeased by an agreement giving her easier access to Abyssinia, France will retain her control of less disputable territory, and M. DALADIER will be covered in a much-needed glory at home as the man who saved the peace—and French soil as well. And no doubt a Franco-Italian agreement will complete the steps necessary to the signing of a four-Power pact.

It is easy to see how the theory grows that such crises are simply staged for the purpose of advancing the cause of an authoritarianism which could in no other way make progress against the innate opposition of the common people, except by the method of war which would, however, also be its own undoing in the end. Did not *The Times* boast that the last "show" demonstrated that "the Führerprinzip" could exist and operate within the borders of a democratic system? Is it merely idle chatter when the Italian *Relazioni Internazionali* declares that "either Europe must achieve solidarity or the 'Axis' will impose it?"

At any rate such a theory fits in with the fact that the Governments of this country and France, in submitting to the power of the dictators for want of the power to resist them, either violently or non-violently, must first overcome their people's dread of such a submission, and that that dread pales only beside the dread of horrible slaughter. But the evidence that we are, at the same time, building up our powers of violent resistance is small comfort even to the believers in violent resistance. To the believer in non-violent resistance of evil it seems to dash even the slender hope he has that the essential principle of negotiation, as opposed to war, might be the starting point for a just peace even if it has been used in the service of a frame-up.

Yet is it really impossible, starting from "things as they are," to set our country and Europe on the path of peace? What is the position?

Italy has not committed herself either to a definite demand for Nice, Corsica, or even Tunisia or to go to war for these or any other demands. It is not too strong to say that she has not dared to do so—any more than Hitler dared to commit himself to a declaration of war, but relied instead on the vagueness of his words to play upon people's fears.

Starting right from the point, then, we can at least face the situation calmly, as a non-violent solution requires. We can, too, refrain from playing into MUSSOLINI's hands by taking seriously demands made noisily by a propaganda machine which, although officially inspired, need not be taken as official demands but only as official propaganda.

Instead of returning the ball in the game of bluster which is the authoritarian technique, we can show that our democracy is a true democracy in that it recognizes the right not only of individual people but of individual countries to freedom to live. To that end we can employ the method of conference which we shall have to fall back on eventually—in worse circumstances—to ascertain the true position with regard to restrictions on the freedom of various countries (not Italy alone) to live. On the back page of this issue we give some illuminating facts showing the effect of our economic policy on Germany. Even if the case of Italy were so simple, the interdependence of the world today demands that a solution be sought, sooner or later, on broader lines than through a bargain fixed up between France and Italy. Even a four-Power arrangement could only be a temporary improvement, if any at all.

But such a policy means playing an entirely different game from that of the dictatorships. It means reliance on a just search for a true international freedom, on the very basis of democracy. Reliance on force, even as a last resort, is the very method we are trying to overcome. No wonder Mr. PIROW, the South African Minister of Defence, said, on returning from the Continent, that "unless there is a complete change of outlook within the next month or two, international tension will reach breaking point during the Spring of next year." If that is a colossal task, at least we have the tremendous encouragement of knowing that the common people are potentially with us.

Humphrey S. Moore

National Service

How They Answered In 1916

HOW did pacifists meet the challenge of "National Service during the last war? We propose to show how, by giving in the next three issues of *Peace News* six representative answers to the following questions, asked by the Tribunals:

- (a) Assuming that your conscientious objections were established, would you be willing to undertake some form of national service (other than your present work) at this time of national need?
 - (b) What particular kinds of national service would you be willing to undertake? (state all the different kinds.)
 - (c) Have you, since the war broke out, been engaged in any form of philanthropic or other work for the good of the community? If so, give particulars.
 - (d) What sacrifice are you prepared to make to show your willingness, without violating your conscience, to help your country at the present time?
- (a) If you are not willing to undertake any kind of work of national importance as a condition of being exempted from military service, state precisely your reasons; and also
 - (b) How you reconcile your enjoying the privileges of British citizenship with this refusal.

Walter Ayles Replied:

1. (a) No; I cannot undertake any kind of service as an alternative to military service.

(b) I must do my present work, to which I have been called.

(c) I would rather not answer this question.

(d) A man cannot answer this question without forfeiting his self-respect, or, at all events, I cannot. If the Tribunal states that I am insincere in my objection, and refuses me exemption, then I shall accept whatever sacrifice is involved in the penalties imposed on me, because I refuse to be false to my principles.

If, however, they grant my sincerity and give me exemption, then the question of sacrifice is one which must be left to my conception of duty. At all events, I shall endeavour to do my duty, as I have always done, whatever the risk or the cost.

2. (a) I am not willing to take work of national importance as a condition of being exempted from military service, because such work would only be intended for the better organization of the country for the purpose of war, and, therefore, morally becomes part of the military operations.

If I accepted work on such conditions, I should consciously recognize the need for military operations, and accept work which I knew had an ultimate military significance. I cannot do that.

Accepts Duties

(b) I accept the privilege of British citizenship as a right which is dependent on my fulfilment of the duties of a citizen. Those duties I fulfil to the best of my ability.

I do not, however, consider the work of the war, directly or indirectly to be part of those duties. I believe it to be a direct menace to the very existence of those privileges, and the whole well-being of the Commonwealth. I think this war has abundantly proved that. Neither does the law itself consider it in all cases to be part of those duties. It is not part of the duty of Ministers and Clergymen. Neither is it part of the duty of those who have a conscientious objection to war.

Under sub-section (3) of section (4) of the amending Act, conscientious objectors are entitled to absolute exemption from the provisions of the Act. The clause states: "It is hereby declared that the power to grant special certificates of exemption in the case of an applicant on conscientious grounds, under sub-section (3) of section (2) of the principal Act is additional to, and not in derogation of the general powers conferred by that Act to grant absolute, conditional, or temporary certificates in such cases."

I have never refused to give what time and energy I have to the service of my fellows. Neither have I allowed at any time any consideration of convenience, or possible unpleasant results to myself, to stand in the way of my duty to the community.

I claim that the law provides absolute exemption for those who hold the views I do, and assumes that conscientious objectors to war will do their duty as citizens in the way best suited to their opportunities and abilities.

This also appears to be the belief of Mr. Asquith, who, on June 22nd, 1916, opposed in the House of Commons, any idea of conscientious objectors losing their civil rights as citizens in any forthcoming Governmental measure.

Walter Ayles was prospective Labour candidate for East Bristol, and a member of the National Council of the Independent Labour Party and of the National Committee of the No-Conscription Fellowship.

A. Fenner Brockway Replied:

1. I am not prepared to undertake any form of "national service," as a condition of exemption from the provisions of the Military Service Act. To do so would be to bargain with a thing I believe to be utterly wrong. To consent to do one thing in order to be excused from doing another is to acquiesce in the second thing and become a party to it.

I cannot acquiesce in, or become a party to, war. Perhaps I can best express my feelings in this matter by an illustration which, though extreme, will make clear the principle involved:—

Extreme Case

Suppose the State, in a time of grave economic distress, were to decide that every man and woman above sixty years of age was an unjustifiable burden upon the community, and therefore ordered its young men to kill all persons on reaching that age. It might be expected that many young men would conscientiously object to doing any such thing. "Very well," the State might say to them, "we recognise your conscientious objection, but if you are to be excused from killing the old people you must at least consent to cremate their bodies or do other work which we consider to be of national importance."

To destroy the dead bodies would be of hygienic benefit to the whole community, but might we not expect many young men to answer "No, the whole thing is diabolical. I will have nothing to do with it. If I consented to cremate the bodies or do other work as a condition of being excused from killing them, I should become a party to the crime by which the old people were put to death."

In the same way I must reject the offer of alternative service to war. To me war is murder. If I consented to bargain with it I should feel I were guilty of participating in murder.

(To avoid misunderstanding I must add that I would not for a moment think of levelling the charge of murder against those who engage in war from a high sense of duty. The act must be judged by its motive, and I recognize that many noble men, hating war with all their being, have been impelled to fight from the loftiest principles. They have followed where their consciences have led, and I revere their courage and sacrifice.)

What He Did

(c) I have done all I could ever since the outbreak of war to urge the people to take the first opportunity of securing peace. At the same time I have tried to popularize the principles the acceptance of which I believe to be essential to a permanent peace.

I have taken part in agitations to stop the exploitation of the people by monopolists who have taken advantage of the national crisis to increase the prices of the necessities of life.

I have worked to secure juster allowances for the dependents of soldiers and increased pensions for disabled soldiers and for the dependents of the killed.

I have striven to secure an advance in the pensions of the old aged to meet the increased cost of living.

(d) I do hope there is no sacrifice I would not be prepared to make to assist in bringing peace nearer and in re-establishing good will between the nations. I believe such work to be the best service I can render to my nation and to humanity.

2. (a) See answer to 1 (a).

(b) I believe the first duty of a citizen is to be loyal to his conscience. Only as the members of a State live according to the truth they see can a State really advance.

A. Fenner Brockway was then editor of the Labour Leader, and Acting Chairman of the No-Conscription Fellowship.

P.P.U. AND THE REFUGEES

MILITARISM THE ONLY ENEMY

Eloquent Appeal To French Youth

AN eloquent appeal to youth is contained in the most recent leaflet issued by the Ligue Scolaire Internationale pour la Paix, whose monthly newspaper, *La Voie Nouvelle*, was described in *Peace News* last week by Harold F. Bing.

"If you are at a school, a college, or a university, if you are preparing for examinations and trying to get certificates and degrees, it is to lay the foundation for a successful career later on," says the leaflet.

"But what good will that do you should war come tomorrow to annihilate you in agonizing circumstances?"

"REFUSE TO KILL"

"We believe that only an Assembly of Youth like ours, above class, race, and creed, can ensure peace. We ask you to join it in your hundreds, whatever your political preferences. The problem of peace is not a political one, it is a human one. To be capable of solving it all that you need do is to want to live and to refuse to kill."

"We recognize no enemy except international militarism. Boys and girls! You are not too young to work for peace, because if war broke out you would never be too young to be choked by poison gas and destroyed by incendiary bombs."

With a view to establishing an active movement among the young scholars of this country, the LSIP is setting up a secretariat in London, which will act as co-ordinating centre and publicity bureau. Temporarily in charge is Mr. E. S. Tew, 91 Lyndhurst Gardens, Church End, Finchley, London, N.3, who will be pleased to give further information and send a specimen copy of *La Voie Nouvelle*. (Stamps value 2d. to cover postage should be sent with inquiries.)

"Not a Relief Organization," But Members Are Encouraged To Give Aid

THE job of the Peace Pledge Union, as a body is not to be a refugee relief organization but to encourage its members individually to give all the help they can in the way of relief.

In the meantime it must as an organization continue its work of propaganda for pacifism, which is the long-term solution of the whole refugee problem.

This was the feeling of the Sponsors of the PPU after a long discussion on the refugees problem at a meeting of the Board last week.

It was also suggested that a protest meeting might be held against the Government's inaction in the matter, and to urge a more vigorous policy.

Community Solution

From Our Own Correspondent.

A significant contribution to the problem of settling refugees from the storm centres of Europe was made by Professor J. W. Scott, of Cardiff, in a recent address given at the Bayswater Peace Centre.

Speaking on the economic basis of community, he showed that persecutions of the kind we were witnessing today normally sprang from fear and that fear in the

modern world arose because the nations of the earth were all huddling with their own unemployed into narrower nationalistic compounds.

Salvation lay in widening the ring. There was no lack of land in the world—not even in our own country. The reason why such wide tracts of the earth remained undeveloped lay in the argument that it would not "pay" to develop them.

But the closed areas need not be closed; the crowded fringes could be widened. Undeveloped areas would pay if we were content to do two things in order to maintain our life, our freedom and our sanity: to modify our luxury standards and to discover community.

"ISLANDED" COMMUNITIES

Large masses of people could thus be enabled to live industriously, fruitfully, and peaceably with the least interference with the markets of the rest of the world. To avoid such interference these peoples, settled in large communal producing groups, must make and grow rather than buy. And they must find a market for most of their goods within their own economic circle.

But any such "islanded" community would need some income and that it might obtain partly by sending out some of its members to work in the world outside for wages, and largely by producing a sales line. But the group must not hang on its sales line; it must stand on its own feet.

By the adoption of an "islanded" currency, any failure of sales outside was balanced by increased employment at home. This technique adapted to the settlement of refugees would enable large numbers to be accommodated in spaces as yet undeveloped at home and abroad. And it would do so without threat of dislocation to the rest of the world economic order.

Professor Scott added that "these fleeing homeless people (the refugees) are economically a gift of inestimable value to whoever knows how to receive them."

Czechs "Morally Crippled"

In a statement to churches abroad, the Council of the Synod of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, and the John Hus Faculty of Theology in Prague, points out that "the loss of territory, though very grievous, is nothing compared with the terrible wounds inflicted on our people, and on our faith in the power of truth and of good will in the world."

It reveals that "religious work in Czechoslovakia, which was our joy and pride since the beginning of the free State, has been deeply shaken. . . . We are afraid that, morally crippled, our people will be weak before the onslaughts of anti-Semitism, of vulgar nationalism, and of the belief in a violent reaction."

The statement has been published in pamphlet form, entitled, *A Voice from The Land of John Hus*.

ESKIMOS ARE PUZZLED BY OUR WARS

From a Correspondent

STRIKING illustrations of the pacifist nature of the Eskimo people were provided by Mr. Haig Thomas, an ex-Oxford Blue in the radio feature, "The World Goes By," when he recounted his experiences in Greenland.

Speaking to a group of Eskimos, he said, he was asked if it was true that the white men fought each other. What did they fight over? It could not be over food for they had heard that there was plenty of food in the white man's lands. They had heard, too, that there were more women than men, so they would not fight over these. What then did they fight about?

WELCOME INVADERS

To simplify his answer Haig Thomas asked the leader of the group what his people would do if a warship full of guns and men came to their shores.

We would send some of our men out in their kayaks to meet them, meanwhile our women would prepare food for them," was the reply. "Afterwards we would show them how to build igloos and then, if they liked, they could stay with us."

"What could I say after that?" remarked Haig Thomas.

Describing the Eskimo equivalent to our game of football Haig Thomas said that apparently there are no rules and as soon as the ball got perilously near one goal some of the players of the opposing side would automatically help by kicking the other way.

While sitting with the adult members of a family eating delicious clams, a small son very rudely pushed in and made short work of the remaining delicacies without a word of reproach from anyone.

After the boy had gone away Haig Thomas asked the father why he had allowed such conduct and why he had not reproved the child. "Oh!" said the father, "we would not dream of hurting the feelings of a little one by doing that. As he grows up he will watch us and will notice how we behave and imitate us."

London Conference to Discuss Economics and Peace

A conference on the "Economic Road to Peace" will be held in Friends House, London, from January 26 to 28.

There will be seven sessions at which papers will be submitted on the financial machinery of Germany, Italy, and New Zealand; agriculture—home production and distribution; dependencies of Empire—native races as consumers of the products of British industries; British industries—centralized marketing; the financing of group migration; banking development to meet needs of modern power production, &c.

The final session will be devoted to a general discussion on an Empire economic conference, a world peace conference, and a New League of Nations.

Openers of sessions will include Mr. Archibald Crawford and Mr. Ben Greene.

The conference has its initiation in the W.1 group of the Peace Pledge Union, but it is not under the auspices of the PPU as a whole. It is, however, receiving the support of many of the peace organizations.

All inquiries should be addressed to the honorary organizer, at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, London, W.1.

FORCING NATIVES INTO WAGE - SLAVERY ECONOMIC PRESSURE IN SOUTH AFRICA

A SHORTAGE of native labour in South Africa, coupled with the high price of gold which has led to the opening of a number of new mines, has led the Chamber of Mines, with the cooperation of the Government, to join in a frantic search for labour.

The gold mines, which aimed at employing 350,000 Africans by the end of this year, had only 331,211 in employment in June, and since then the seasonal decline has commenced. Consequently, although a number of new mines are being prepared for production, their development is held up until labour can be obtained.

For the great mining houses, accustomed to pay as much as 160 percent dividends, it is of the utmost importance that labour should be found. Last week the Native Recruiting Corporation stated that 50,000 additional labourers—an unprecedented number—would be required during the next 12 months.

Consequently the industry is turning its attention to outside the Union of South Africa. The Native Recruiting Corporation, discussing the prospects of securing labour further north, admitted that "it is most improbable, however, that the Northern Governments would permit any such unrestricted recruitment."

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

The search for native labour is believed to be one of the motives for the demand for the incorporation of the Protectorates within the Union. Other legal but coercive steps are being taken.

Natives in one reserve are prevented

from leaving it for any reason unless they have a contract to go and work in the mines. Nearby, on Crown Lands, live thousands of natives, who used to pay a yearly tax of £1. This has grown until it stands at £2 15s. (including 5s. cattle Tax payable by everyone—even those without any cattle!) The people are also forbidden to cut down trees without a licence, costing 5s.

Despite this economic and other pressure, the labour shortage persists, so other measures have been taken.

The Government has committed itself to a 5-year programme to provide additional land for the natives, whose wealth is in their cattle. For years native land has been overstocked, the cattle are short of pasture, and erosion is wasting the land.

Now the Government proposes to limit the number of native-owned cattle in order to prevent soil erosion—though the real solution is to give the Africans more land. (It may be mentioned that the mining companies own millions of acres of fallow and unused land, estimated at two-thirds of the surface of the Transvaal.)

NATIVE RESISTANCE

Spontaneous resistance is growing against the attempt to reduce the number of native-owned cattle. It is as yet not a political movement, but a movement against something half understood.

At one meeting of chief and tribesmen, the local commissioner said that cattle would have to be sold, killed or shot, and that each man should keep only six head. One chief asked why the people were not given more land, a demand applauded by the people.

The commissioner replied that no more land could be given. The same chief later told the commissioner to "go and tell your big men in Pretoria that we shall kill nothing; not even one head of anything."

Read the
Socialist Case against
WAR
Every Week in
"FORWARD"

EVERY FRIDAY — TWOPENCE

Send a postcard for free specimen copy to:

"Forward" Office, 26, Civic Street, Port Dundas, Glasgow.

Some of the Week's Books

Can There Be A "Just War" In Our Time?

By
**Donald
Attwater,**
formerly
editor of
"Catholic
Herald"

THERE are few things more misunderstood (and, I hasten to add, understandably so) by radical war resisters than the attitude toward war of the Roman Catholic Church and of others who take up a substantially Catholic position.

The traditional teaching of the Roman Catholic Church (at any rate since the fourth century) is that in certain circumstances and under certain conditions it is lawful to resort to warfare to vindicate a right that has certainly been infringed; and Catholic theologians lay down that for such a war to be justifiable the following conditions at least must all be fulfilled:

1. It must be a strict right that has been infringed, and of proportionate importance to the means invoked (war) to vindicate it.
2. War must not be resorted to unless all other means of settlement have been tried and have failed.
3. There must be a reasonable hope of success for the just cause.
4. The war must be entered into simply with the intention of righting the wrong.
5. War must be waged by legitimate methods.

All these conditions must be fulfilled (a just cause alone is not sufficient). If only one condition is unfulfilled, then the war is unjustifiable and Catholics are obliged by the Church to refuse to take part in and support it ("conscientious objection").

Modern Warfare

THERE is an increasing number of Roman Catholics and others who, starting from the above premises, have concluded that it is inconceivable that any war should occur today in which one side would fulfil all these conditions.

They emphasize particularly the means now inevitably used in the prosecution of war, notably (a) that war today cannot be carried on for a week without an intensive and continuous campaign of hate and blood-lust against the "enemy", and (b) that terrorism is required for the successful prosecution of war, especially by means of deliberate bombing and other attacks on innocent persons. Everybody knows that both these things are true.

These things and others, are, and would be done, not "accidentally" and by way of abuse, but deliberately and as a normal part of warfare. Thus war is carried on by means of spiritual and physical murder, which it is forbidden to Christians to do or to cooperate with, and no consideration, not even resistance to unprovoked invasion, could justify them in taking part in or voluntarily supporting such war.

War Repudiated

MANY Catholics who hold the above views go further, and say in effect: We repudiate war of all kinds because, however technically justifiable in a given case, experience shows that it is always in fact at variance with the spirit of Christ, and the good that Christians desire as men and as Christians cannot be obtained by such means.

It is substantially this second position that Miss Natalie Victor expounds in her admirable *A Catholic Looks at War* (J. Clarke, 2s. 6d. net.).

She speaks as "a Catholic of the Anglican communion," but nevertheless "attempts to establish the faith believed by all true pacifists, whether they are conscious of the origin of their convictions or not."

She herself goes further than the above statement, believing that war is in itself forbidden to Christians, and meets the difficulty that the common teaching is in the Roman and the Anglican communions says otherwise by pointing out that "the revelation of God's will is progressive, and is made often to the individual conscience before it is accepted by the whole body."

The present reviewer would like to emphasize that, in view of what has been said above about modern war, this very common difference of view about the essential unlawfulness or otherwise of war, is purely academic: for practical purposes today there need be no disagreement between the Catholic and the Quaker or so-called absolute pacifist.

Message For All

MISS VICTOR arranges her book according to the four divisions into which it naturally falls, the philosophy of pacifism, its relation to government, its significance for the individual and its religious basis; but throughout she emphasizes that sacramental view of life and all things in life as sacred which is, by grace, second nature to the Catholic Christian.

The answers that she gives to the problems that arise have been "determined by that long meditation upon the passion which reverses all human values and reveals Christ crucified as the lord of the whole earth," and the present writer (who does not belong to the same communion as Miss Victor) emphatically agrees that her stress on this fact increases the value of the book, for she helps Friend and Methodist and Catholic to find themselves "in league" with one another, to the great and necessary increase of Christian love.

I go further, and say that this book, shot

through with the spirit of a peace that is not simply the absence of war, has a most important message also for those who do not profess Christianity in any form.

Statement Wanted

ALL the major problems of her subject are touched on, and Miss Victor deals particularly well with the use of force in general, defence, the cost of pacifism (which, she rightly emphasizes, is a way of life and not an article of faith held in isolation), the pacifist and the enemy and justice for all nations (most important), and pacifist failures; in this last section she quotes a fine passage from a Jesuit priest, Father R. H. J. Steuart, on the so-called anger of God.

I am only sorry that Miss Victor did not include somewhere a clear statement of the Catholic moral theology of "ends and means" as summarized at the beginning of this review; it would have been a help to those readers who may (through, alas! their relative unfamiliarity) find her general considerations rather abstract and alarming—though they should be in fact as concrete for a Christian as the Ten Commandments.

Miss Victor herself is careful to use such terms as justice, liberty and love "in their strict sense, a sense independent of the sphere of emotion" (italics mine).

This seems to be a good opportunity to draw attention to the excellent peace publications of Messrs. James Clarke & Co. They include, in addition to Miss Victor's splendid book, Dr. MacGregor's *New Testament Basis of Pacifism* (a work appreciated in the Roman Catholic *Dublin Review*, in the *British Weekly* and in *The Friend*) and the well-written and well-produced Pax Pamphlets, which throw further light on the Catholic attitude to war.

"Achilles's Heel" of Modern War

Tomorrow's War. Stephen Possony. Hodge. 8s. 6d.

Though his book is of interest chiefly to students of the science of war, Herr Possony has provided facts of interest to the non-specialist, too.

He calculates the men and materials likely to be necessary in a modern major war, and concludes that supplies of both are insufficient for such a war to be waged according to the theories of today. Hence the factor of "surprise" will be important. (Was not that the factor that was to end the Great War and the Spanish war in a matter of weeks?)

The author considers blockade is the best weapon of today, and declares that the power of air bombardment has been over-emphasized.

I could not find much comfort in his assertion that "it is by no means certain that the next war will be a great war or a total war." What was interesting was his insistence that, despite all the mechanization that has taken place, man-power is just as necessary as ever. All that has happened is that the balance of man-power has altered, fewer men being needed for the battle itself.

"Today," he writes, "in the age of total wars it will need whole classes of a nation's best to meet the requirements of modern war. Even if all the other problems of a total war are solved this is and remains its 'Achilles's Heel.'"

Here is support for the contention that it is no use limiting armaments—that even helps the war-economy in peace-time! At rock-bottom it's men and women who matter; this book shows that without their support there can be no modern war.

J. W. C.

International Trade in Raw Materials

A new volume of *International Trade in Certain Raw Materials and Foodstuffs by Countries of Origin and Consumption, 1937*, the third of its kind, has just been published by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations.

The work is designed to meet the wishes expressed by business men and others, who pointed out that in many cases the import statistics given for a particular commodity by the importing country did not correspond with the statistics of the exporting country relating to the same transaction.

A comparison between the three volumes now published makes it possible to measure the progress made, and leaves no doubt that the volume just issued represents a considerable improvement in every respect and is of the greatest interest.

Don't Forget

the mass selling of "Peace News,"
December 17. Volunteers still wanted.
LONDON BIRMINGHAM
6 p.m. to midnight. 2.45 to 4 p.m.
(See Notice Board.)

An Open Letter to a Press Lord

The Press by Wickham Steed (Penguin Special, 6d.).

Dear Lord Newsprint,

I HAVE for a long time been uneasy about the position of the Press in this country, and I know that my uneasiness is shared by men and women everywhere, whatever their political opinions.

That largely unconscious feeling that something is wrong with our Press found conscious expression at the time of the crisis when some newspapers adopted "scare tactics." It was freely suggested that the crisis was engineered by the papers to a great extent, and however true or false that belief may have been, it is significant that people felt they could not trust their papers to tell the truth.

One of the greatest means of spreading information and of safeguarding our liberties was thus discredited in time of emergency.

THAT is why I am glad Wickham Steed has written his new book, *The Press* (Penguin Special, price 6d.). He enables a layman like myself to understand how the newspaper has evolved, what it was like in its early days, and how it is run today; but even more important is his clarification of the two main functions of the Press.

He says it is a social service, with the twin objects of disseminating facts and preserving our liberties. I think he's right.

Now I've always thought of a social service as a service run on efficient lines for the benefit of the community at large;

something which improves the health, either mental or physical, of those it administers to. It should always be, I think, the servant of all.

Mr. Steed lays at your door the charge that you run the newspaper business for your own gain, and that in doing so, you lower the standards of journalism, and bring the Press of this country into disrepute. And his charges appear to me to be well founded.

HE explains that in order to make a profit, you have to persuade advertisers to pay for space in your papers; and in order to make still greater profits you attempt to increase your circulation in ways that have nothing to do with journalism proper—by offering insurance benefits to readers, by newspaper competitions and other tricks designed to secure an increase in nominal circulation as a lever for extracting higher rates from advertisers.

And not only do you try to curry the favour of the advertisers to the extent of suppressing information which is distasteful to them, but the catchpenny methods by which you contrive to stimulate sales damage the standing and influence of the Press.

It is impossible for people to look upon a paper which appeals to the lowest in human nature as one worthy of respect.

WHICH brings me to the question of safeguarding our liberties. Just read these extracts:—

Anxious not to lose subscribers, they are tempted to be neutral and colourless, to "hedge" on crucial issues, and to avoid dullness by giving prominence to incidents or episodes that have little general significance.

It is the duty of the Press to speak out. Its allegiance is to the public and not to any constituted authority; for the only check on the abuses of authority is public knowledge of how authority is being exercised.

The first duty of the Press is to the public and not to any Minister or Government who may at any given moment be in office. To think or act otherwise is to enter a half-way house on the downward way from freedom to the totalitarian enslavement of the Press.

Here I think we have the reason for the declining influence of the Press today. Purely financial considerations dictate editorial policy in many cases, with the result that papers are not now so alert to attack abuses or champion just causes.

The Press has become enervated, anxious to please everyone, and afraid of offending anyone.

MAY I suggest that if we are to prevent the regimentation of the Press in this country, it is necessary that you change the policy you have adopted until now? All papers do not display these faults in the same degree, I will admit; but there is a great and urgent need for a tightening up of the standards of journalism.

Reform is in your hands; acknowledge your faults and help to bring about that revolution in the national life which must come if civilization as we know it, is to survive.

One last quotation:
The soul of a people ought to be in its Press, but this Press, if in the hands of a few financial magnates, may murder its soul by corruption instead of directing it.

Yours faithfully,

One of your Million-odd Readers.

PEACE BOOK CLUB

Brings you the best in PEACE LITERATURE for 2/6 a month. Write for particulars and a free copy of PEACE BOOK NEWS to the Secretary:—
PEACE BOOK CLUB, 5, Goodwin's Court,
St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.2

Speaking Personally

The Social Change We Must Strive For

by Leonard Barnes

IN my previous article I spoke of human individuals as though they were cells of a social organism. And so they are. But the individual differs from the cell studied by biological science, in being capable of self-consciousness.

He can achieve awareness of the social relations that are his being, he can view himself, just as science views him as a behaving organism. When he does this, and in the process sheds the illusion of his sacred independent individuality, he enters into possession of himself in the quite simple sense that he sees and becomes what he really is.

With this self-knowledge he is freed, not, indeed, from the rule of necessity, but from ignorance of what that rule means. In Hegel's phrase, "Freedom is the knowledge of necessity."

Because he understands what the necessity is that he is under, and what limits it imposes, he becomes capable of cooperating intelligently with it for an understood purpose. Because he knows what is necessary, he also knows what is possible. His mind and imagination are truly disinterested, and he can consider without illusion or self-deception the possibilities which lie before society, and can act in accordance with them. We conquer nature in obeying her.

IT is only when he has attained the freedom given by the knowledge of necessity that the individual can become responsible for the social consequences of his acts.

To what were due the horrors of the early Industrial Revolution, the atrocities which have accompanied much colonizing enterprise in tropical lands, or the misery and human waste found in our distressed

THIS is the second of two articles by Leonard Barnes, well-known authority on Empire problems, and thirteenth writer under the heading "Speaking Personally."

Other contributors have included Vera Brittain, Wilfred Wellock, Laurence Housman, and Lord Ponsonby.

The next writer in the series will be RONALD DUNCAN, who will deal with "Slipshod Thinking." His first article will appear NEXT WEEK

areas today? They were not the work of deliberate cruelty and malice. No delight in torture inspired their authors.

Unforeseen Results

Indeed, they were not willed at all. They were the necessary but unplanned and unforeseen by-products of numberless individual acts that were consciously directed to quite other aims. In short, the people who caused them were not responsible for them, and the only possible judgment on the authors as individuals is "Forgive them, Father, for they know not what they do." They were not responsible for them because they were unconscious of the necessity which made them end-results of the acts they did will. They were, therefore, not free to take the measures that might have avoided them.

IN principle, therefore, one way of escape from this dilemma is to transform the unconscious social whole into a conscious social whole. And here psychology furnishes a useful illustration.

Nightmares and other morbid states resulting from repressions in the individual disappear when the sufferer no longer attempts to force his troubles out of sight, but faces them and deals with them without being scared of the pain they cause. For this, he must come to understand the nature of his trouble, and the real reason, often very different from the apparent reason, why the experience he has been repressing has gained its painful character.

Rivers has suggested that the social counterpart of nightmare is revolution. The experience of social and economic maladjustments leads to repression both in the psychological and the political senses of the word.

Both forms of repression are counter-

parts of division in the social body, and that division is in turn the outcome, as we saw last week, of stunted methods of productive activity.

If the experience of social disorders and maladjustments is not allowed to find expression in such a way as will lead to their conscious recognition and to the measures which should follow on this recognition, there will sooner or later be violent, unregulated, all-for-nothing manifestations comparable to those of nightmare.

FEW people find the prospect of violent revolution pleasing, but even fewer are disposed to make any serious effort to realize the only alternative, namely, the leading of society as a whole to the same ruthless self-knowledge and self-discipline as psychoanalysis at its best can produce in the individual.

It may seem strange that the mental resistance to a new way of thinking should be as strong or stronger than the physical aversion from the violence of revolt. But those who have followed the argument of the previous article will perhaps not find it incomprehensible.

Leaders and Led

However that may be, it is clear that anyone who wishes to further the consciousness of the social whole will himself first have to attain to consciousness of the reality of society and of his own relation to it. Next, he must have courage to face experience from which there is a natural tendency to flee, as well as the still greater courage needed to look closely into the nature of the painful experience, and by looking, to gain the knowledge which forms the other requisite for effective action.

He must disown such forms of leadership as involve the imposition of the leader's will upon the led by the power of

irrational symbols attached to his personality and position; or such as rely on the agencies of suggestion, faith and economic coercion. For these things merely perpetuate crude attitudes of the instinctive kind which we have inherited from our animal ancestry.

The relation between leaders and led should be one in which the former take the latter into their confidence and bring them to see and understand what is amiss in order that they may work together with a common understanding toward a common goal.

For thinking and action go hand in hand. Rationality destroys illusion not by argument alone but by raising and advancing the whole human problem; in other words, by carrying the productive methods and relationships of society to a higher level.

THUS I am led back to the point from which I began. Poverty in plenty and the drift to war when the deepest aspiration of the Common people in every country is for peace—these things are kindred phenomena and closely joined to one another.

So long as poverty is forcibly substituted for a quite realizable plenty, peace among men is impossible. As Housman says, "It is a moral defeat as well as an affront to all intelligence."

But—and here is my central contention—if the psychological change you desire in order to convert this moral defeat into a victory is a change in the direction of increased rationality, then the social change must be one which facilitates the working of the productive system at the highest potential which the contemporary state of the arts allows.

The key to peace lies here, and not in any religious or quasi-religious revival which simply induces in the individual a desire to behave better within the existing social structure.

GROWTH OF THE P.P.U.

Sponsors Discuss Finance and Propaganda

THE addition of 949 new members in November, it was reported at the Sponsors' meeting, held last Thursday, brings the total membership of the Peace Pledge Union to date to 122,849.

The financial statement for October was presented, and an explanation of the position by the treasurer appears elsewhere in this issue. Approval was given to the Management Committee's proposals regarding new premises, which are also reported elsewhere.

It was reported that, as part of the national campaign, the recently published broadsheet, *A War has been stopped*, was being used in connexion with PPU efforts to obtain signatures to the national petition for a new peace conference.

Miss Mary Gamble and Miss Vera Brittain were asked to consider with others the desirability of a special women's committee to run the Women's Campaign.

(Sponsors on National Service—page 1; on Refugees—page 7.)

How a Guarantee Helps Sales

Circulation last week—19,769
Loss since previous week—413

MORE than one reader has testified to the value of asking one's newsagent to take half-a-dozen *Peace News* each week and to display a *Peace News* poster, and of promising to buy from him any copies left unsold at the end of the week.

"Very effective" is the testimony of one who has tried this method of increasing sales. Will you try it, too?

Refugees: The Need

SPEAKING to a gathering of South Africans on his arrival in London on Monday, Mr. Pirow, South African Minister of Defence, declared that the refugee question was capable of comparatively easy settlement.

Two things were necessary: money, to take the place of the assets refugees were not allowed to take with them; and land, to settle those who had no money or who, in spite of their money, were debarred by immigration laws.

To fulfil these needs he suggested an international loan, and creation of a State or Mandate, on unoccupied suitable land, to settle twice the number of refugees likely to be available. He added:

"What is absent, however, is a willingness both on the part of the countries who wish to shed their refugees and of those who profess to feel sorry for them to make any real sacrifice. The former are merely prepared to give them one-way passports; the latter to accord them sympathy."

DUTCH YOUTH AND REFUGEES

Nation-Wide Collection

From Our Own Correspondent

Bilthoven, Holland.

Saturday.

TODAY there was a house-to-house collection throughout Holland for a German refugee fund—carried out in this town for the most part by children.

The collection was due to the initiative of older pupils at the Children's Workshop Community (referred to in *Peace News* some months ago). The school has recently opened a small German boarding-house, as a first step toward becoming an international community, and it was only natural that its members were ready to take the initiative in doing something for children suffering in Germany who, as one of them said, "might have been our school-fellows."

Besides taking the lead in calling together the youth of Holland, members of the community have given a performance of a play which brought in over £20 for the refugee fund.

So far, individual passes to enter Holland seem to be granted on consideration, especially for people over 60, but many people here are very dissatisfied that up till now only 200 children have been admitted.

YOUTH HOUSE—the residential centre for progressive youth. Internationalism and fellowship in active communal life. Single bed-sitting rooms, 17s. 6d. p.w. For particulars apply: SECRETARY, Youth House, 250 Camden Road, London, N.W.1. GULiver 5189.

LORD TAVISTOCK and CANON MORRIS

Speak at public meetings in

The DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL CLUB (Thomas Street, Oxford Street, W.1.)

THIS COMING WEEK

Lord Tavistock, Wed. 14th, at 7.15
Canon Morris, Thurs. 15th, at 1.10

THE CLUB RESTAURANT is open to the public Mondays to Fridays from 3 to 9.30.

BOOKS AS CHRISTMAS PRESENTS

Especially those by the late Canon H. R. L. SHEPPARD

GOD AND MY NEIGHBOUR

"Rich in the charm, the wisdom, the shining faith with which his name is associated." *Christian World*, 2nd Edition

SOME OF MY RELIGION

"It is alive . . . the sort of truth which needs saying." *Manchester Guardian*.

SHEPPARD'S PIE

"The very best of bedside books." *Howard Marshall (Sunday Times)* 3rd Edition.

MY CRY FOR CHRISTIANITY

"Uncommonly good . . . with intense reality and outspokenness." *Life and Faith*.

MORE SHEPPARD'S PIE

"His whole philosophy is probably here . . . full of good things, both prose and verse." *Times Literary Supplement*.

Obtainable at all booksellers, 3/6 net, or 3/10, post free, from CASSELL, La Belle Sauvage, London, E.C.4.

John Barclay on

THE HIDDEN SPRING

MORE than once lately those who spend their lives in travelling up and down the country preaching pacifism have said to me, "Is it any good, are we gaining enough ground or merely wasting our efforts in a vain rear-guard action before the final crash?" How much I sympathize when I see how tired they are of trains, poached-eggs-on-toast and railway stations at 3 o'clock in the morning.

Our arguments and passionate pleadings are listened to and are rarely denounced (except by those who want to see "the mad-dogs-of-Europe" crushed to save democracy). "What," say my friends, "is the use of all this pouring out of energy and common sense, this pleading with crowds to be Christians, if in the end it gets nowhere?" The answer surely is that it is the only hope and that it will succeed when we touch the hidden spring of common humanity.

We are searching for that which will release the flood of "common humanity," and send it surging through the world. All the misery and suffering, which daily grows more intense and which arouses all our compassion makes us also shake with anger and despair, thus preventing us from see-

ing the very thing for which we are searching.

You cannot help the Jews by fighting Hitler even if you defeated him. You cannot help democracy by turning into a conscript nation to defend it. We can only establish our conviction in the minds of others, not by being carried away on the waves of compassion, but by allowing that compassion to reach the multitude by carrying it with us.

Every group and every individual pacifist should be at once a dynamo and a distributor. Poached eggs on toast and late nights are a small price to pay for the privilege of being able to be a carrier of a germ which is more revolutionary than any political faith and more constructive than any one religious creed. It is the spring which is able to release the human spirit itself and will bring about the new co-operative commonwealth—this germ called "pacifism."

WEEKEND SCHOOLS

On December 3 and 4 I took part in a weekend school organized by the Ipswich group; members coming from all over Suffolk and parts of Essex to join us. By

The Group
Secretary's
Weekly
Notes

the kindness of the local Friends, we were able to meet in their new hall.

The school held three sessions and a social, and was attended by about fifty delegates. The Rev. J. C. G. Burton, who organized the weekend, was in the chair and the subjects we covered were (1) ARP, National Service and the Pacifist; (2) A new World Conference; (3) Ways and means of pacifist propaganda.

This is the way of getting over the ground! We had the opportunity for wide discussion and questions, and individual talks in between times as well as a thoroughly happy social on Saturday evening.

It cost very little to run, delegates' fees of 1s. bringing in enough to cover expenses and refreshments were served and paid for as we went along. Those coming from a distance were given hospitality by the Ipswich members.

If only other regional committees would organize such schools every three or four months, the results would be very far reaching. Opportunities are made for new contacts, and new groups are stimulated as well as giving encouragement to the central committee.

DICK SHEPPARD CENTRES

A special demand is coming in for rugs, carpets and mats. Will anyone who can supply any one of these articles please let me know at once as new centres are being formed in various parts of the country, all of which require furnishing.

Under the Oak Tree

BASQUES TO THE FORE

By Theo Wills

A BREATH of salt sea-air from the rocky coast of Bizcaya, the name familiar to us in the form "Biscay."

From the steep fishing-village of Elanchove, famous for its anchovies, another well known Basque word, came Francisca and Albina Osa with the other children to Basque House. They are tall and strong, with the nobility of a fine race written in their faces and in their manners.

Basque was the daily language of Francisca and Albina. They learned most of their Spanish from the other children after reaching England. The other children are in much the same position as Welshmen who know some Welsh but mostly speak English—they know some Basque but mostly speak Spanish.

It is principally due to lack of imagination on our part that we have never before asked Francisca and Albina to speak Basque for us in a scene in our concerts. This afternoon, however—it will be "last weekend" when this is published—they were principal figures in a scene of Basque life made especially for them.

Over their dresses and those of the other actors we had almost a quarrel with the Spanish staff. We suggested improvisation with cricket-shirts and old skirts and the like. They, however, would not willingly submit their national costume to such parody, and putting together from their meagre pocket-money they bought the needful cloth, and turned out a really thrilling set of Basque traditional costumes.

Attractive enough lassies, usually seen in the familiar dress of our day, became stately figures from "the old proud pageant of Man." This may sound extravagant, but you should see the dresses. And we heard the rugged Basque, with its "Ator, Ator!" ("Come, Come!"), the name of a song they sang, and its "Agour!" ("Goodbye"), and "bai" ("yes"), to pick out a few words easy to seize.

This was our second monthly home concert, a great success, with a house crammed to capacity.

This series, "Under the Oak Tree," is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our proteges at Basque House, Langham, Chelsea, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 95 Regent Street, London, W.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

Group News from the Four Corners

GROUPS at Woolwich, Plumstead, and Abbey Wood, have decided to make the Petition the spear-head of their propaganda until the New Year, and have already disposed of more than 200 forms, many of which have returned completed.

In connexion with a big public meeting on Thursday, 5,000 handbills and PPU "Broad-sheets" are being distributed. They have also hired a bill-poster to cover Woolwich hoardings with posters—a strikingly effective method of propaganda: the firm charges only 8s. per week for 100 posters.

The Rise of the Nazis

DR. KONRAD FELS was given an enthusiastic reception by a large audience at a recent meeting in Sparkhill.

Speaking of the rise of the Nazis in Germany and the suppression of self-determination in that country, he said that in order that the Nazi party should gain power in the 1933 election, 81 communist M.P.s had their seats cancelled.

Dr. Fels pointed out that his aim in visiting public meetings was to witness, as a German, that the peace movement was a world movement, and to inform his audience of the international situation as a Continental citizen saw it.

The meeting was presided over by the Rev. A. C. Robinson.

Wessex Council Reviews its Work

MEETINGS of the Wessex Pacifist Council, which unites all pacifist groups in Wilts, Somerset and Dorset, were held at Glastonbury last Saturday.

In the afternoon the year's work was reviewed. Though it is impossible for members from so large an area to meet often it was felt that the existence of the Council was fully justified by the stimulus and strength which arose from the contacts it gave.

Two regional councils, one in North Wilts, and one in mid-Somerset, had been formed and were doing useful work. It was clear that if a satisfactory scheme could be agreed upon, by which the area could have a full-time organizer, the isolated groups could be united and given new vigour.

At an evening meeting at which Heather Tanner (Chippenham) and Harry Allen (Bath) were the speakers, the secretary's policy of finding new speakers within the area was justified by the quality of their addresses.

New Hampshire Regions

FOLLOWING the transference of C. W. Hope Gill as a regional organizer of the PPU to Kent, the Hampshire region has been divided. Mr. Hope Gill was responsible for the birth of the region eighteen months ago and has been mainly responsible for its growth from eight groups to sixteen in that period. His new appointment has been welcomed by the region as a tribute to the work he has done.

The new regions are Hampshire (comprising groups at Winchester, Andover, Broughton, Eastleigh, Southampton, Romsey) and East Hampshire—West Surrey (groups at Alton, Four Marks, Portsmouth, Petersfield, Haslemere, Liphook, Fernhurst, Farnham, Farnborough, Ebbesfleet).

Mr. G. C. Seager, St. John's House, Winchester, is continuing as chairman of the Hampshire region, with Mr. E. Lush, 26 Bridlington Avenue, Sholing, Southampton, and Mr. S. G. Hales, The Grove, Andover, as secretaries.

Officers for the other region have not been officially appointed as yet.

International Social

HORSFORTH group held their annual "East and West Social" last week, when they entertained sixty Leeds University

students of over a dozen nationalities.

M. and Mme. J. P. Inebnit of Switzerland were host and hostess, and in a short address to the two hundred people present, M. Inebnit said they wanted to put into practice the ideal of a brotherhood of men and in meeting together in that way they had a great opportunity of making friendships that made no discrimination of nationalities, language or religion.

The evening was spent in games and dancing, including an entertainment of national songs and music given by students from different countries, and provided a striking object lesson of the possibilities of international friendship for which the PPU pleads on a national scale.

Bexhill Takes the Initiative

SINCE there is no peace council in Bexhill-on-Sea, Miss Winifred Rawlins, a member of the PPU group there, has taken the initiative in forming a committee to organize a local canvass in connection with the national canvass for the National Peace Council petition.

In addition to the local branches of the League of Nations Union, Labour Party, Liberal Association, Women's Cooperative Guild, the support of practically all the Free Churches and one or two of the Anglican Churches has been secured. A public meeting is now being arranged, and the committee has secured the loan of an empty shop, in the town.

Members of the PPU, however, are not letting this work interfere with their ordinary propaganda, which they are carrying on side by side, though not actually with the petition work.

Help for Basque Children from Reigate and Redhill

ON Friday last the Reigate and Redhill group organized a concert in aid of the local Basque Children's Home. Two members of the group contributed to the songs of the evening and the Basque children themselves helped to entertain.

The drama section of the PPU group gave a one-act play entitled *Black Night*.

As a result of the concert it is hoped to hand over a useful donation.

Poster parades have been held recently both in Redhill and Reigate, the Dorking group helping with the latter.

Wimbledon's Concern for Refugees

MEMBERS of the Wimbledon and Raynes Park group are particularly concerned about the refugee problem. One member has been able to put a bungalow at Pagham (near Bognor) at their disposal for six months. There is accommodation there for five people.

Another member is taking a refugee child into his home, while yet another is taking two girls.

In the groups news sheet it is pointed out that they are in touch with certain influential local people and have every hope that the work they have begun will be given a much wider scope locally. The work has been taken up by the Mayor, Vicar, and churches.

Anyone in the district who can spare a bed should write to Miss Edwards, 39, Wilton Crescent, London, S.W.19. The group would make arrangements to give financial support if necessary.

Plea to Norwich Members for Immediate Action

IN the December issue of the Norwich group's Bulletin J. R. Purling asks members whether they are content to believe that a personal renunciation of war is enough? "At the peak of the crisis," he says, "a large number of our comrades

rallied to the cause, anxious to do their bit, but since that time their enthusiasm has waned."

This is no time for complacency or for deluding ourselves that Munich has brought peace. We must not wait until the next crisis for the next spate of enthusiasm, for there may not be reprieve next time.

Members are busy playing their part in the petition campaign. Each member has been asked to take a form and to obtain at least twenty signatures. In addition it is hoped to arrange for a stall in the Market Place one Saturday to collect signatures.

West Yorkshire House-Party

THE West Yorkshire Federation is repeating the weekend House-Party which proved so popular last May.

This time it will be held from May 13 to 14, 1939, at Newfield Hall Guest House, in glorious Yorkshire Dale country near Malham. Wilfred Wellock will give two lectures under the general title "The Course and Ultimate Outcome of Dictatorship."

As Newfield Hall is "miles from anywhere," members will be picked up in their home towns on the Saturday afternoon by a private saloon coach and taken back on the Sunday evening. The inclusive charge for weekend at Guest House, lecture fees and return transport from any point in the region is 12s. Early application for reservations is essential: a deposit of 2s. 6d. should be sent to the Federation Secretary, Denis Riley, 13 Beech Avenue, Horsforth, near Leeds.

The Notice Board

Meetings

West Norwood group meets on second and fourth Tuesdays in Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall (near tram terminus). Study circle (to study Gregg's *The Power of Non-Violence*), meets in members' houses in rotation—usually first and third Tuesdays.

Peckham.—Friends' Meeting House, Highshore Road, every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Poster Parades

Bradford.—Volunteers wanted on December 10 and subsequent weeks. Meet outside Brown and Muffs (Tyrell Street entrance) at 2.15 p.m. Names and addresses to J. Ibbson, Dale Garth, Daleside Road, Thornbury, Bradford.

Volunteers for parades in West End on Sunday evenings. Meet outside Friends House, Euston Road, 6.45 p.m.

Special parades are to be held from headquarters, 96 Regent Street, W.1, on Tuesdays, at 6.30 p.m. and 8.15 p.m. and continuing until further notice.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Norwich.—Volunteers wanted for mass selling in the Market Place on December 24.

Birmingham.—Mass selling on December 17 from 2.45 p.m. to 4 p.m. Start from Carrs Lane Church (Room 8). Send all possible names of volunteers to W. S. Burt, 3 Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

Liverpool.—Meet in Friends' Institute, Islington, Friday and Saturday at 8 p.m.

Cardiff.—Sellers are badly needed. Come and do your bit, not leave it to a few!

West End of London. Mass selling from 6 p.m. to midnight on December 17. All names to PPU, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

Taunton.—Volunteers each week. Apply Mrs. K. Bryant, Leycroft Farm, Taunton.

Sheffield.—Every Friday between 6.30 p.m. and 8.30 p.m. at corner of Fargate and Leopold Street. Volunteers are asked to notify Geoffrey Pickup, 24 Stanley Road, Sheffield, 8, not later than the previous Monday.

Belfast.—Volunteers wanted for Friday evenings. Write Miss L. Brown, 56 Ulsterville Avenue, Belfast.

Miscellaneous

Norwich group will be in charge of a stall in the Market Place tomorrow, where signatures

will be collected for the Peace Conference Petition. Literature and *Peace News* will be on sale.

Newport.—Will anyone interested in the PPU get into touch with Mr. Miller, 243 Christchurch Road, Newport?

Chiswick group is holding a "Bring and Buy" Sale on December 10, at 34 Duke's Avenue, between 3.30 p.m. and 7 p.m., to raise funds for forthcoming public meeting. Please bring something, and come prepared to buy something. Any contributions toward this meeting in cash should be sent to above address.

What do you do with your old copies of *Peace News*? Miss Kathleen Hoskin, 2 Quintrel Road, Newquay, Cornwall, would be glad to give a list of names and addresses of people in Germany, Switzerland, France, and England who would welcome them to read. All inquiries should enclose a stamped envelope for reply.

Sutton.—A permanent peace shop and peace centre will be opened shortly at 122 Carshalton Road, Sutton, Surrey. Volunteers needed for duty during the day (10 a.m. to 12 p.m., or 12 noon to 2 p.m.).

Wanted urgently, books for Peace Library. Can be left at Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road, Bournemouth, any Monday from 7.30 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Bridgend, Glamorgan.—Members in this district please communicate with Mr. Glyn Howe, Arosfa, St. Brides Major, Bridgend, Glamorgan.

Christmas Play

London members of the PPU, especially those who visit the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, will be glad to hear that the King's Weigh House Church, in whose premises the Club is housed, is producing May Pelton's Christmas Mystery, *The Gladdening Light*.

The play, which is a notable example of form, colour and music in the service of worship, is to be given on Sundays, December 11 and 18 at 7 p.m., and on Tuesday, December 13, and Friday, December 16, at 8 p.m. The Church is in Duke Street, opposite Selfridges, and seats are free.

The Weigh House, which has upheld the pacifist position ever since the War, is at the moment the scene of an experiment involving joint Anglican and Nonconformist ministry, with a view to pointing the way to Christian re-union.

Diary of the Week

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, Dec. 9

LONDON, N.W.1: Friends House, Euston Road; Peace Book Club reception and rally; 7 p.m. Informal reception by Patrons and committee; 8 p.m., public meeting. Dr. A. Maude Royden, Dr. C. E. M. Joad, and Vernon Bartlett; Peace Book Club.

EVESHAM: 7.30 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Cool Street; Frank Parkin; PPU.

KIRKINTILLOCK: 7.30 p.m., YMCA Buildings; Rev. J. D. MacLean, H. A. Barter, and Andrew White (chairman); PPU.

HULL: 7.30 p.m., St. George's Road Methodist Schoolroom; Men's Fellowship.

NUNEATON: 7.30 p.m., PCA Hall, Harefield Road; Mary Gamble, Rev. F. W. Moyle, and S. R. Brett (chairman); PPU.

SWINDON: 7.30 p.m., Central Hall; Dr. Herbert Gray; FoR.

BAYSWATER: 8 p.m., Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Cecily Craver on "Society and the Law-breaker."

HARROW: 8 p.m., Victoria Hall, Station Road; Herr Premysl Pitter; FoR.

SPARKHILL: 8 p.m., St. John's Church Hall, Ivor Road; film show of Kameradschaft and shorts.

LONDON, N.W.1: 8 p.m., Friends House, Euston Road; discussion on "The Task before the Peace Movement"; Dr. Edith Summerskill, and Professor C. E. M. Joad; Peace Book Club.

Saturday, Dec. 10

CROUCH END: 4.30 p.m., Middle Lane Methodist Church Hall, Middle Lane; social; Hornsey Region of the PPU.

WIMBORNE HILL: 6.30 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Church Hill; International Social; FoR.

CHELSEA: 8 p.m., The Hall of Remembrance, Flood Street; play: *The Man I Killed*; admission free; silver collection; The Guildhouse Players. (Miss Vera Brittain will speak.)

Sat. & Sun., Dec. 10 & 11

EDGWARE: Rowley's Cafe, Station Road; weekend conference; Barbara Wootton, Sonia Clements, and Andrew Stewart; PPU. Tickets (2s.) from Joan Dempster, 60 Warwick Avenue, Edgware.

Sunday, Dec. 11

GLASGOW: 7 p.m., Regal Picture House, 324 Sauchiehall Street; Canon Stuart Morris; international film: *Are We Civilized?*; The Study Circle.

BRIXHAM: 8 p.m., Town Hall; J. N. Wales, Miss E. C. Comber and A. Larkworthy; PPU.

STREATHAM: 8 p.m., Labour Hall, Eastwood Street; Miss V. D. Swaisland, Robert King (chairman), and M. W. Briar; PPU.

Monday, Dec. 12

SUTTON, Surrey: 8 p.m., 51 Sherwood Park Road; Rowntree Gillett on "Spiritual experiences which have led to Pacifist conviction"; PPU.

UPMINSTER: 8 p.m., Commemoration Hall, Station Road; George Lansbury and Rev. J. Gurr Reed (chairman); PPU.

WESTMINSTER: 8 p.m., Caxton Hall (near St. James's Park Station); Mrs. Laughton Mathews (chairman), Archdeacon Owen of Kairo, Mrs. Owen, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Miss Nina Boyle, and Miss Eleanor Hawarden; "Forced Marriages of African Girls"; admission free; reserved seats (2s. 6d. and 1s.) from St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance, 55 Berners Street, W.1.

Tuesday, Dec. 13

BAYSWATER: 8 p.m., Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Henry Carter on "Constructive Peacemaking"; PPU.

HATCH END: 8 p.m., St. Anselms Hall, Hill View Road; Vera Brittain on "Constructive Peacemaking"; Samuel Peat (chairman); PPU.

PINNER: 8.30 p.m., St. Anselms Hall, Hatch End; Vera Brittain; PPU.

Wednesday, Dec. 14

TOWER HILL: 12.30 p.m., Open-air meeting; M. W. Briar and W. E. Twells; City PPU group.

LONDON, W.1: 7.15 p.m., King's Weigh House Church, Thomas Street; Marquis of Tavistock.

COVENTRY: 7.45 p.m., Warwick Road Congregational Church; John Barclay; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square; Lord Horder on "Health and the good life"; FPSI.

GREENFORD: 8.15 p.m., Public Library; Nigel Spottiswoode on "Is Collective Security Practicable?"; PPU.

Thursday, Dec. 15

LONDON, E.C.4: 1.10 p.m., 13 Paternoster Row; Gerald Bailey on "The National Petition for a New Peace Conference"; City PPU group.

LONDON, W.1: 1.10 p.m., King's Weigh House Church, Thomas Street; Canon Stuart Morris.

BAYSWATER: 8 p.m., Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; A. Ruth Fry; PPU.

NOTTINGHAM: 8 p.m., Savoy Cafe, South Parade; John Barclay; PPU.

STRATFORD: 8 p.m., Congregational Church, The Grove; East London Pacifist rally; George Lansbury, Mary Gamble, and Rev. A. E. Binks (chairman); PPU, FoR, Methodist Peace Fellowship, Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, &c.

Friday, Dec. 16

WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m., The Regent Cafe, Victoria Street; social; tickets 1s. 6d. inclusive (lunch) from G. H. Barrett, Brooklyn House, George Street, Wolverhampton.

LEEDS: 8 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane; Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps; FoR.

Saturday, Dec. 17

SUTTON, Surrey: 2.30 p.m., 122 Carshalton Road; official opening of Peace Shop by Canon Stuart Morris; PPU.

What does **PPU** stand for?

I. HOW IT BEGAN

THE Peace Pledge Union dates from the day when Dick Sheppard invited all men who felt as he did to write to him stating that they renounced war and would never again participate in one.

The immediate response was overwhelming, and every day since then pledge cards have come in, the total having now reached some 123,000. At first the movement had been confined to men, but when the signatures of women were asked for there was once more an immediate response. By reason of its numerical and moral strength, this venture has become a national movement, and it is linked with the world movement by its affiliation to the War Resisters' International.

Dick Sheppard asked some leading men and women to join him as Sponsors. Practically all of them were subsequently elected at the movement's first Annual General Meeting, and today the Sponsors are: George Lansbury, M.P., Canon Stuart Morris, Maurice L. Rowntree, John Barclay, Harold F. Bing, Miss Vera Brittain, H. Runham Brown, the Rev. Henry Carter, Miss Lily Gamble, Dr. A. Herbert Gray, Laurence Housman, James H. Hudson, Aldous Huxley, Miss Storm Jameson, J. Middleton Murry, Humphrey S. Moore, Capt. Philip Mumford, Max Plowman, Lord Ponsonby, Canon C. E. Raven, Bertrand Russell, Dr. Alfred Salter, MP, Siegfried Sassoon, Dr. Donald O. Soper, Miss E. Thorneycroft, Wilfred Wellock, Dr. Alex Wood, and Arthur Wragg.

The headquarters are at 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. The President is George Lansbury, M.P., the Treasurer, Maurice L. Rowntree, the Chairman (and secretary), Canon Stuart Morris, and the Group Organizer, John Barclay.

Give your pledge on a postcard:—
I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.
Sign this, add your address, and send the card to PPU headquarters

NEW HEADQUARTERS FOR THE P.P.U.

How the Dick Sheppard Memorial Fund Has Been Used

NEGOTIATIONS are proceeding for the purchase of a freehold house at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, N.W.1, to accommodate the headquarters' staff of the Peace Pledge Union.

The house is situated near Euston Station, the British Museum, and the University of London, and the price is about £7,500. It will give considerably more adequate accommodation than the present headquarters at 96 Regent Street where the workers are cramped for room.

The proposed change is revealed in a letter sent to group leaders of the Peace Pledge Union by Maurice L. Rowntree, the Hon. Treasurer. The letter states:—

"As many members of the PPU are wanting to know what has happened to the Memorial Fund and have also heard rumours about new premises, I should like to clear up these points."

"As I stated recently in my letter to you, our expenditure so far this year has exceeded our regular income by about £2,000. It has therefore been necessary to borrow from the Memorial Fund to meet the difference. It is not that our expenditure has increased very much, although owing to the growth of the work it is slightly increasing, but that for one thing the considerable sources of revenue which Dick Sheppard had obtained for us from his friends have fallen off."

SELF-DENIAL FUND

"You may remember that the Memorial Fund was stated in the Balance Sheet presented by the Treasurer at the Annual General Meeting in April as being £7,473 16s. 3d. up to December 31, 1937. In October, 1937, Dick Sheppard launched the idea of a Self-Denial Fund during Armistice Week, his intention being that this fund should be used for continuing and extending the work of the PPU."

"It was the main Special Fund at that time and was being subscribed to when he died. Naturally after he died it became a Memorial Fund, although members still sent up money earmarked for the Self-Denial Fund. On the other hand a number of donations were sent up not marked for any special fund. On December 31, 1937, the Self-Denial Fund totalled £2,452 5s. 10d., a total which was included in the above figure of £7,473 16s. 3d."

"At the end of March, 1938, money for both funds had ceased to come in, the combined total standing at £9,558. The Finance Committee estimated that of this total £6,000 rightly belonged to the Memorial Fund as such, and that the balance of £3,558 representing the results of the Self-Denial Appeal should remain part of the General Fund as originally intended."

AREA GRANTS

"The Sponsors decided that of the £6,000 constituting the Memorial Fund, at least £2,500 be earmarked for capital non-recurring grants for establishing Area Organization on a permanent basis, the balance being available for (a) the cost of purchasing some building which might form a centre for our activities, or (b) capital expenditure in relation to propaganda, &c. And now a special claim is to be made upon it."

After outlining the negotiations for new premises already described, and revealing that the present headquarters' rent is £760 per annum, the letter continues:

"In order to acquire the property we propose taking about £3,000 from the Memorial Fund and to raise the rest by mortgage, or if good friends will come forward with gifts or loans without interest, we can then raise it without burdening our ordinary expenditure with mortgage interest."

"To have such headquarters of our own and freehold, should be in every way a good economy, and it is a sign also that we contemplate our future with confidence."

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

1½d. per word, minimum 2s. Box Number 6d. extra

LATEST TIME FOR COPY TUESDAY MORNING

BUILDING & DECORATING

DECORATIONS AND ALL HOUSE REPAIRS. Plumbing, &c.—C. T. Coles, 45, Alma Avenue, Highams Park, E.4. Telephone: Larkwood 1904

DRAMATIC

WANTED: MEN AND WOMEN PLAYERS. Voluntary Workers of all kinds. Spacious room for hire, low charge.—International Pax Players, 48 Arlington Street, N.1.

EDUCATIONAL

GERMAN LESSONS or exchange conversation by Viennese Pacifist. Near Bethnal Green.—Box 128. Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

GERMAN PACIFIST, expert linguist, living in South Denmark near beautiful Flensburg Fjord, is willing to take students as boarders to learn German, Danish, Swedish, French or Italian. Very reasonable terms. Facilities for regular German and Danish conversational practice in district. For further particulars apply War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, or direct to Dr. Arnold Kalisch, "Fredshjem," Roenshoved or Rinkenæs, Denmark.

READERS are requested to SUPPORT "Peace News" ADVERTISERS whenever possible

HEALTH AND MEDICAL

MISS J. D. WALLINGTON, health practitioner, osteopath, bonesetter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods; particularly successful with nerves and digestive cases. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1 (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way North, Letchworth (Letchworth 885).

ILLUMINATED ADDRESSES

ILLUMINATED ADDRESSES (framed or unframed), albums scrolls, testimonials, rolls of honour, &c., from 1 guinea to 100 guineas; advice readily given by our own artists. Battley Brothers, Ltd., Commercial Artists and Photographers. Printers and Publishers, The Queensgate Press, Clapham Park, S.W.4. Telephone: Macaulay 3401.

LECTURES

"HEALTH AND THE GOOD LIFE," by Lord Horder. Wednesday, December 14 at 8 p.m.—Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Price 1s. F.P.S.1.

THE FUTILITY AND SUICIDAL POLICY OF WAR; the above address given by Captain Butcher, Royal Societies Club, St. James's St., anytime, anywhere (20 miles radius) without fee or expenses

PERSONAL

WOULD SOME KIND PERSON offer hospitality to a Viennese (Jewish) girl, 8 years old. Good family, nice character. Please write to: W.U., 25 Belsize Park, London, N.W.3.

WOULD SOME KIND PERSON offer hospitality to Viennese Jewish mother with girl (8 years old). Mother excellent in all household work. Write to: F. H. Hornik, 63 Belsize Park, London, N.W.3.

URGENT: WOULD SOMEONE KINDLY OFFER domestic work or hospitality to a very reliable German Jewish couple. Also apply for permit. Write 37 Holmdale Road, N.W.6.

WILL ANY ENGLISH FAMILY give home to German Jewish married couple willing to undertake any work. Write Box 138, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

SITUATIONS

Wanted

WANTED BY PACIFIST (middle-aged man, unemployed), any accounting or clerical work. Apply Lynam, 50 Thornhill Square, Barnsbury, N.1.

TYPEWRITING

Typing for "PEACE" Jean's Typing and Duplicating Office are waiting for any jobs you may have—large or small. Speed, efficiency, and low charges. Phone Bishopsgate 3308; 7, Broad Street Station, Liverpool Street, E.C.2.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Increased accommodation. Central heating throughout; h. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, near Matlock. Telephone Ambergate 44. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.).

DOWNTON, WILTSHIRE. The Misses Philpott, Country Guest House, The Borough, Downton, Wiltshire. A roomy house on the banks of the River Avon, standing in a pleasant garden. Terms moderate.

TOWARDS A CHRISTIAN ECONOMIC

By the Rev. LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

A new book dealing with the economic problem from the Christian point of view.

Extract from Foreword.

"There is an urgent call for Christian people to understand how their faith applies to the 'bread and butter' side of human existence. Mr. Leslie Artingstall's chapters are an essay towards this understanding. He has packed the results of wide reading into his pages and has not buried any of the disturbing facts in the present situation. But he brings a Christian judgment to bear, and his chief concern is to enquire how Christian values can be incorporated in a reconstructed order."

"TOWARDS A CHRISTIAN ECONOMIC" published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Additional chapters entail a selling price of 2/6, or 2/10 post paid.

Orders may now be sent.

A Pacifist Commentary

Folly of Trade War Warning to Germany: Uncertainty in Palestine: The Register

THE Overseas Trade Minister advanced some high-sounding phrases about the necessity to meet the aggressor with his own weapons in the House of Commons last week. Was he referring to war? Not at all; just to the friendly intercourse of trade.

He said that Germany was contracting to buy, over a period of years, the goods of other nations at prices higher than ruled elsewhere in the world. He might have explained, though he refrained from mentioning it, that Germany was compelled to adopt this process, so highly detrimental to its own pocket, in order to obtain the means of international exchange from the countries which exclude or limit the direct import of German goods.

Germany, for example, buys Smyrna figs at 40 percent above world prices. Germans are too frugal to eat Smyrna figs. They are therefore exported to London and sold at a price by which Germany loses the extra 40 percent paid.

In that way she secures currency from Britain which she uses to buy materials she lacks from the countries willing to supply them.

Mr. R. S. Hudson and the British Government are apparently most indignant about all this. One would have thought that the greater room for indignation lay with the frugal German who must pay an extra 40 percent for figs which he is then too poor to eat and must send away for the enjoyment at cost price of foreigners.

At any rate the Minister squared his shoulders and proclaimed, so that all Germans should hear, "Unless you are prepared to put an end to this sort of competition then we will fight you at your own game." He meant by that: we too will buy at 40 percent above world prices, impoverish our people in the process and send the goods away for those who are able to take them.

We have not been quoting from Alice in Wonderland, but rendering faithful account of what passes for statesmanship in the House of Commons.

The Need in Palestine

ARAB extremists, after reading Mr. MacDonald's speech, have stressed the point that if the British Government is going to recognize the Jewish Agency, there should be no reason why they should not also recognize the Arab Higher Committee.

Those who are more moderate, however, welcome the speech as one that is sympathetic to the Arab cause. They realize British obligations to the Jews, but they ask the Jews to make allowance for the national aspirations of the Arabs.

There seems to be an air of uncertainty, and reference is being made to past vacillations. Mr. MacDonald will have to follow up his speech with definite action if he is to win the cooperation of the Arabs, for they have very little faith in British justice these days.

The Jews have been rather critical, both extremist and moderates. They continue to stress that they cannot sacrifice emigration for a settlement. They say that they realize that Palestine cannot do much to solve the refugee problem but cannot see why the Arabs cannot allow 5,000 children and another 30,000 to 50,000 refugees to enter Palestine.

Arab Split

There is, apparently, some split in the Arab movement between the Mufti's followers and those of the Nashasibi party. Last week the latter played up to the British military authority by stating that they had no complaint about treatment at the hands of the military. Of course the press used this immediately to counteract German criticism.

At the meeting held in the home of the acting leader of the Arab Defence Party, the Mufti was accused of being responsible for the terrorist killings of Arab villagers and leaders.

It is quite obvious that Arabs are not united in their struggle. This may cause some difficulty in the finding of a settlement.

The German press and German spokesmen are still using Palestine to fling at us.

They refer to the situation and methods as a "disgrace to civilization," and accuse us of using the same methods as we used against them in the Great War to suppress the Arabs in Palestine.

Democratic Victory?

THE News Letter published by the International Peace Campaign hailed, as "a victory for democracy," the fact that when the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary visited Paris they did not arrange to grant belligerent rights to General Franco.

The pressure of public opinion in Britain and France, it was claimed, had "checked the policy of the dictators and prevented the granting of belligerent rights to the rebel Franco."

Before designating this a victory for democracy it would be well for the I.P.C. to reflect upon the lesson of similar instances of the pressure of public opinion. In the same article was quoted the case of the Peace Ballot, after which Lord Baldwin fought and won a general election on the policy of collective security "which he publicly repudiated within a year of being returned to power."

Again, the fact that Sir Samuel Hoare had to resign the Foreign Secretaryship following the revelation of the Hoare-Laval Plan for a "deal" over Abyssinia, "actually did not alter this country's scandalous attitude to the Abyssinian war, while it was not long before the offender was once more reinstated in the Cabinet."

Without going into the merits of the particular cases quoted, which do not affect the principle, it is worth while asking whether the term "democracy" can be applied to the spasmodic workings of a public opinion which is able to check the Government for only such a short while.

Anderson's Register

THE Government is not likely to be moved to action by the demands of its supporters for the immediate introduction of the compulsory register which is already promised for the appropriate time. But it will find the demand increasingly useful in preparing people for the introduction of open compulsion.

The register as described by Sir John Anderson in the House of Commons this week itself prepares the way. There are to be local national service committees made up, probably, of the chairman of the local authority, magistrates, representatives of the various military service units, employment committee, members, trade unionists, and "persons of general influence."

These would work in conjunction with officers of the Ministry of Labour, and although Sir John Anderson specifically stated in the House that their function would be a "judicial" one rather than to act as recruiting agents, it will need very considerable vigilance to keep them strictly to that task, seeing that all the members of the committees will have natural prejudices in favour of everybody's serving.

Actual experience of the efforts of the Ministry of Labour and the magistracy—even without a register—to get those with whom they deal into the armed forces bores ill for the voluntary system.

Nor are the committees only to sit and wait for people who have already half decided to serve to go and ask for advice. They are to "stimulate interest in the whole problem of national service."

Yet even so, the result is not likely to be more than a fresh wave of enlistments such as have already been produced from time to time by such special stimulants as crises. And since we can now be sure that an inadequate response will be met sooner or later by compulsion, the most effective reply would seem to be a fresh drive—but sustained, and not as a burst of temporary concern—to stop the whole drift to war that is the occasion of the campaign of recruiting, whether voluntary or compulsory.

"Settlement" in China

ECONOMIC pressure on Japan was urged upon the Government by Viscount Elibank on Tuesday night. He told the House of Lords that Japan was gradually monopolizing trade as well as currency in China.

For the Government, Lord Plymouth admitted the restrictions Japan has placed upon British enterprise in China, but thought the protection of British interests could best be achieved by "an early and equitable settlement." We, too, would welcome a settlement, though it would have to be a settlement equitable to those peoples and not an "equitable" bargain between Japan and Western Powers to carve up China afresh.

If it is such a truly equitable settlement the Government has in mind, it should display more eagerness to promote it. Lord Plymouth seemed to confine himself to offering the services of Britain when Japan has achieved her war aims (if she can).

To the extent that those aims are legitimate they could be achieved through a world conference determined to remove the causes of war.

Lord Ponsonby on National Service

(continued from page 1)

their lists with the names of those who are ready to serve in the fighting forces or armament factories and will be supposed to be able to judge the claims of those who should be allowed to remain in "key occupations." But they will also—and this is the main consideration which affects us—be able to mark down those who are reluctant or refuse to move from their present occupations in order to participate in a war effort. That is the list which it will be useful for them to have if the day of compulsion comes.

Q. But they cannot force anyone to promise his services now.

P. Technically speaking they cannot. But we all know the bullying intimidation which certain truculent patriots can exercise with a view to frightening the more timid into compliance. A young farm-worker who lives near me was told before the crisis that he should apply for a gas mask. He went to the proper local purveyor of these absurd things and was met with "Look here young man, your job is to join up and if you don't go pretty soon you'll be sent."

Q. What then should be the attitude of the absolute pacifist when questioned?

P. This depends on the questioner and the question. At this juncture there is no need to flaunt your pacifism so as to get cheap martyrdom. On the other hand a crucial question must be answered sincerely and emphatically. If a man is in a "key occupation," such as agriculture, food production, railway work, &c., he need only say he intends to stay where he is. If however he is occupied in work which does not come into this category and is not considered to be directly helpful to the waging of war, his intention to remain where he is will be met with a refusal and alternatives will be suggested. Then he must courteously but decidedly refuse, knowing that he then becomes a marked man, should compulsion be introduced. A plea that he intends to devote himself to International Service to prevent a war rather than to national service to prepare for a war, although wise and true, will be beyond the comprehension of the visiting questioner. Arguing and probably bullying will follow.

Q. What about alternative service which is neither military service nor munition production?

P. The kindly questioner—much more difficult to deal with than the bully—will have a number of suggestions to make. In this case each individual must decide for himself according to his conscience. He must bear in mind that it is practically impossible not to help a war indirectly and he may feel he can conscientiously accept some alternative, such as agriculture. But he must also remember that pure shirkers are going to join our ranks and so discredit our movement. In which case he may think it best to stand out against any suggestion, be black-listed and risk eventual imprisonment.

Q. You think, then, that the operation of this scheme is not the proper opportunity for all pacifists to show boldly their colours?

P. Yes, that is my opinion, with this proviso that he should give a direct refusal if he is confronted by a suggestion or command that he should join up with some form of direct military service. But he should at once report any such method of intimidation to headquarters so that a list may be drawn up.

Q. What about ambulance work, nursing, &c?

P. The individual must decide for himself or herself. While what seems to be purely compassionate or restorative work may appear to be unexceptionable, patching up wounded soldiers so

that they may return to the front is definitely helping on the war.

Q. But will not "the front" this time be the next street or your own street?

P. Yes, certainly that is true. I was making the mistake of talking in terms of the last war. That indeed is the mistake that Anderson makes. His seems to be such a tidy, plausible and comprehensive scheme on paper. But neither he nor we can know what the effect will be on our population if the diabolical engines of modern warfare are directed against us. The casualties among innocent victims of a system they detest will be far beyond human aid and petty precautions against panic cannot prevent it turning into revolution.

The general effect of the scheme now is that, combined with ruinous taxation and increase in ARP, it will be useless for the Government to deny that they think war is inevitable. It is amazing that people can be duped into the belief that preparing for war prevents war, when there is direct proof that it has precisely the opposite effect.

The whole scheme should be denounced as a misleading bit of camouflage, disturbing to our national life, fatal to constructive effort, stimulating a war spirit, creating a poisonous atmosphere in which to bring up children, and directly encouraging the drift towards Fascism.

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, by "Peace News," Ltd. (registered office, 96, Regent Street, London, W.1), and printed for them by Buck Bros and Harding, Ltd. (T.U.), Guardian House, Forest Road, London, E.17.

STOP PRESS